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THE
LANDFALL OF COLUMBUS.



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THE
LANDFALL OF COLUMBUS

ON HIS FIRST VOYAGE TO AMERICA

WITH A TRANSLATION OF
THE BARON BONNEFOUX'S
HISTORY OF HIS PREVIOUS LIFE

ALSO
A CHART SHOWING HIS TRACK FROM THE LANDFALL TO CUBA
AND
AN OUTLINE OF HIS SUBSEQUENT VOYAGES

BY
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THE FIRST LORD COMMISSIONER OF THE ADMIRALTY

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WHOSE NAME IS CHERISHED IN

HONOUR AND ESTEEM

BY

THE AUTHOR.

PREFACE.

SINCE the days of the Spanish Sovereigns Ferdinand and Isabella the LANDFALL OF COLUMBUS has been a subject of doubt. Neither that island which he first saw at the end of his voyage across the Atlantic, nor those which he next discovered and visited between it and Cuba, have yet been properly recognized on the chart.

Any thing new concerning Columbus would appear impossible in days approaching four centuries since his first voyage, when, as he said, "he unbarred the gates of the New World;" and still no one could yet point out his earliest track on the shores of that world, no one could yet prove where he first set his foot on American soil! This

much then is new. In the following pages the mystery of above three and a half centuries regarding those subjects appears at length to be finally cleared away.

Such a question, however, as the Landfall of Columbus, could scarcely remain so long without some answer. Accordingly two islands have been pointed out, by different authorities, about three hundred miles apart; and each of them is stated to have received from Columbus the name of San Salvador. At first it would appear that one must be wrong! But after a close investigation they both prove to be wrong; for, as shown in the following pages, Columbus never saw either of them! The Admiral, indeed, has never been thoroughly understood, and therefore all our maps and charts hitherto have been at fault on the subject.

To rectify all this, and to fill up a blank in the most important part of the first voyage of Columbus;—in fact, to remove this blot from an interesting portion of maritime geography, has been the object of the author. But to have pointed to this island or to that, and merely to have said such was the Landfall, would have been exciting curiosity without satisfying it; telling a kind of lame story,—one like an embassy of Ferdinand, that was designated by the King of Portugal as wanting “both head and feet.” Hence, how Columbus found his Land-

fall, and how he left it,—where he went and what he saw, appeared to be so mixed up with it, that, notwithstanding what had already been done in that way, it appeared desirable, with the assistance of Señor Navarrete,* to draw up a fresh account of his voyage. Some new facts of that voyage might present themselves from which

“To point a moral or adorn a tale”

concerning the Admiral's proceedings in those long by-gone days. Besides,—an interesting narrative of the life of Columbus, previous to his voyage, had appeared from the pen of a French Naval Officer of distinction, the Baron Bonnefoux, who has kindly permitted the Author to adopt it. And hence this account by the Baron, and the valuable compilation of Señor Navarrete above alluded to, are the principal sources of information in the following pages,—Navarrete's book supplying especially the particulars for the voyage and the Landfall.

The work has cost several years of close application at frequent intervals of rest from the duties of the Hydrographical Office of the Admiralty. Attempts often

* See No. 1. of list of works consulted in the Appendix.

defeated only to be as often renewed with a determination not to be overcome, were at length crowned with success, and the real Landfall of Columbus, it is believed, is now for the first time before the world.

This fact, which is described in the following pages, will perhaps form their principal recommendation; for the Author is well aware of their imperfections, and how much they might have been enriched had not his official duties entirely precluded him from availing himself of the treasures of our principal national libraries. His object however has been accomplished in having identified the Landfall of Columbus on his first voyage to America, and for other portions of his work he must for the above reasons claim the indulgence of the reader.

INTRODUCTION.

WHEN a controversy is apparently decided, it passes by and is forgotten, perhaps no one caring about it. But when it is found afterwards that the decision is unsound, and indeed that all parties concerned in it are wrong, the original question becomes as unsettled as ever, and possibly thereby gains something of interest. This is precisely the case with the Landfall of Columbus.

The island whereon Columbus first landed in America, and the others which he discovered between it and Cuba, remained in their original obscurity as left by our ancestors, until in modern times the world was charmed with that interesting book, the "Life of Columbus," from the

pen of Washington Irving. In treating a subject embracing the discovery of America, the first American ground which received the discoverer at the end of his tedious voyage across the Atlantic Ocean, became a subject of interest and curiosity. But this question belonging rather to a seaman than to any one not nautical, was left to the decision of a friend, who provided the author of the "Life of Columbus"* with the old Landfall of Cat Island, along with the track of the Admiral across the Bahama Bank to Cuba by the Mucarras Cays. The charts of the time were in a most imperfect state, as may be seen by that which Mr. Washington Irving used for his book, in which this track is laid down.

About the same time as the "Life of Columbus" appeared, the late Spanish Hydrographer, Señor Navarrete, was busily engaged in compiling his important collection of the voyages of the old Spanish navigators; and in laying down the tracks of Columbus he had arrived at a totally different conclusion as to his Landfall from that of Washington Irving. Of this Señor Navarrete made no secret, and Mr. Irving readily acknowledges it, as well as the attentive consideration with

* See No. 2. of list of works consulted in the Appendix.

which Navarrete placed the papers of Columbus before him.

Señor Navarrete's great work soon afterwards appeared, the first two volumes of which are devoted entirely to the papers of Columbus. It is accompanied by charts, on which all the tracks of the Admiral in his several voyages are defined with as much pains and care as could be expected from the imperfect state of the charts at the time. It is remarkable, however, that although Navarrete printed the papers which describe the Landfall, he did not scrutinize them so closely as to perceive it; and, impressed with the opinion that Columbus was always sailing West, he adopted Turks Island for it, an island which certainly approaches to it nearer in several respects than Cat Island, which had been adopted by Mr. Washington Irving. Had he followed the theory of Señor Muñoz, he might have done better, who, although he was right in one particular, was greatly mistaken as to his subsequent course. But Navarrete was quite wrong, although no one has, perhaps, bestowed more pains than he has on the whole subject. And he has conferred a great benefit on maritime geography by printing the papers of Columbus; for although unsuccessful himself, he thereby placed the means of success in another hand.

For several years the question of the *Landfall* lay in this unsettled condition between Señor Navarrete and Mr. Washington Irving, when the Baron Alexander Von Humboldt considered it a proper one for decision in his extraordinary work entitled "A Critical Inquiry into the Geography of the New Continent."* Here was a geographical controversy, and one well befitting the nature of the work in which the Baron was engaged;—a work which is no less remarkable for the subjects embraced by it, than the mass of information with which it abounds. But notwithstanding the patient reasoning, the astute inquiry, the scientific argument employed by the learned Baron, the *Landfall* eluded all his vigilance! Navarrete had read Columbus's Journal without perceiving it; but the Baron, judging between him and Washington Irving, seems to have placed more confidence in an old document, that is not worthy to be called a chart, by a pilot named de la Cosa, who was among the early navigators, but not with Columbus; and then gave his award in favour of that *Landfall* which had been advocated by Mr. Washington Irving.

Considering that a certain amount of nautical knowledge is essential in dealing with nautical sub-

* See No. 3 of list of works consulted in the Appendix.

jects, it could hardly be expected that a correct view of the Landfall should be found in a recent work on the Spanish Conquests in America by Mr. Arthur Helps; or in that entitled 'Select Letters of Columbus,' which appeared previously, by Mr. P. H. Major, of the British Museum. Hence, valuable as these works both are, it is no matter for surprise that the latter should follow the conclusions of Navarrete, (strenuously supported as they are by Mr. Gibbs,* a resident of Turks Island,) while the former does not even pretend to recognize any particular island as the Landfall of Columbus."

Thus the three modern works in which we are entitled to look for a clear and satisfactory account of the proceedings of Columbus, the latter, moreover, professing to decide the difficult recondite point on which the two former are at issue, all fail at the interesting time of his first arrival on the shores of America! Columbus (to use his own words) had indeed "unbarred the gates of the West;" but the road by which he had passed those gates has been until now a secret path; no one has yet traced him through them.

The words of the Admiral himself are now employed

* See No. 4 of list of works consulted in the Appendix.

by the Author of the Landfall to achieve this task of ages,—one that has foiled all who have approached it. For the means of doing so he is indebted to Señor Navarrete. And the patience which Navarrete devoted to it as well as in publishing the papers of Columbus, will be best appreciated from his own words. He tells us, “ In the documents now published the place of the originals is noted with the view of giving authenticity to our copies; but although all are authenticated in their meaning and contents, they have not all been copied with the same care and attention to minutæ, a defect which has arisen principally from the writers not understanding obsolete terms, or not being able to decipher the frequent abbreviations of the ancient writings, or the true meaning of a phrase, or the forms of public despatches. Sometimes the meaning of a sentence became obscured by false punctuation, and even the absolute defiance of all rules of grammar. These difficulties, added to those arising from the paper being old and rotten, and the ink much obliterated, made matters worse, but were in some degree remedied by persons accustomed to deal with ancient manuscripts.”*

Now those words, so carefully preserved by Señor

* Navarrete, No. 1. of list of works, vol. i. p. cv.

Navarrete, and no other than those, after being analysed and sifted from among the multitudes of others by which they have been so long concealed, have formed the authority for the Landfall. It is right to be explicit on this point, as the station filled by the Author in the Hydrographic Office at the Admiralty might lead to the conclusion that it had afforded him exclusively the means of unravelling this knotty question.

The Hydrographic Office of the Admiralty has acquired, by the liberal views of successive Governments on the importance of good charts, a more comprehensive store of hydrographic information of most parts of the world than perhaps any other in existence. But that office is comparatively of modern date, having been established about the end of the last century, and its resources are limited to current demands for good modern charts. The wants of the antiquarian have little chance of being satisfied there. And even in reference to modern charts most of the shores that Columbus discovered in his first voyage have not yet been really surveyed. Thus, neither Watling Island (his Guanahani) nor the Crooked Island Group (his Fragrant Isles) have been surveyed on the liberal scale of Long Island, off the South-West end of which he anchored, and after naming it described it in two or three words.

As the pages of Navarrete's volume have thus afforded the single yet sufficient authority for the Landfall of Columbus, so have they supplied the whole information relating to the voyage before us. Nothing is herein stated that is not given by Navarrete. A mere servile translation has not been adopted; the substance of those documents is presented to the reader, and it is only on special occasions that quotations from the original have been added.

Thus, while the volume of Navarrete has formed the text-book for the Landfall, the published charts of the Hydrographic Office are the documents to which the words of Columbus containing his courses and distances among the islands from that point to Cuba have been most perseveringly applied until their right places were ascertained. They are now before the reader in the accompanying chart, along with the tracks assumed as those of the Admiral by the authors above-mentioned.

Having thus recognized the islands discovered by Columbus and applied the names he assigned to them, the bank on which he anchored between them and Cuba appeared well worthy of notice. It is so closely but briefly described, and the place of his anchorage given by his courses and the specified distance from the Arenas Isles

with so much precision, that, being without a name, it has fairly established its claim to be recognized as Columbus Bank. The Cay (Verd) at its eastern end has, in all probability, found its name from Cape Verd to the Northward of it, but does not appear to have been recognized by the Admiral. The tracks of Columbus along the coasts of Cuba and Española, in the former as far as the Caravelas Grandes, and in the latter throughout, are those laid down by Señor Navarrete, the shoalness of the water fully corresponding with that mentioned by Columbus at the Caravelas entrance as obliging him to turn back from his Westerly route. We are yet to see a good chart of the shores of both these islands with their outlying reefs, and it is somewhat remarkable that, of the shoal on which Columbus lost his ship, we know as little now as we did a century ago; and of the island of Tortuga, alluded to by him, even the shores of it are yet unknown.

One word more only may be added to this already lengthened statement. The Author has studiously endeavoured, in the course of his remarks on the subject, not to overstep the bounds of fair criticism, and to give his authority for differing from those theories which he believes that he has successfully opposed. And while he has found himself compelled to do so, he trusts that

if in remarking on the different tracks of the Admiral his comments should wear the appearance of hastiness, they will still be taken in good part by the advocates of those tracks, and a generous allowance accorded to him from an assurance that his confidence has only proceeded from a conviction that he has arrived at the truth of which they were in search, and on which alone could be finally established THE LANDFALL OF COLUMBUS.

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THE BAY OF GOMERA *To face Title.*

CHART TO ILLUSTRATE THE LANDFALL *at the End.*

PART I.
HISTORICAL ACCOUNT OF COLUMBUS
PREVIOUS TO HIS VOYAGE,
BY THE BARON BONNEFOUX.

THE LANDFALL OF COLUMBUS.

PART I.

HISTORICAL ACCOUNT OF COLUMBUS PREVIOUS TO HIS VOYAGE.

BY THE BARON BONNEFOUX.

CHAPTER I.

EARLY LIFE AND EDUCATION OF COLUMBUS—GOES TO SEA UNDER COLOMBO—WOUNDED IN AN ATTACK ON VENETIAN GALLEYS—PRINCE HENRY OF PORTUGAL—NAVIGATION SCHOOL OF SAGRES—DISCOVERIES—COLUMBUS VISITS LISBON—PORTRAITS OF COLUMBUS—HIS DEPORTMENT AND MANNERS—HIS FIRST MARRIAGE—HIS CHARTS—ORIGIN OF HIS PROJECT—CORRESPONDENCE WITH TOSCANELLI—HIS OPINION OF THE DESIGN—ENTHUSIASM OF COLUMBUS—RESPECT FOR HIS THEORY.

CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS was born at Genoa in the year 1435. His father, who was a humble wool-carder, had married Susannah Fontanarossa, by which union he had four children, the eldest of whom was Christopher. An origin so modest was not sufficient for historians, who have endeavoured in latter ages to find one more illustrious. But Ferdinand, one of the sons of Columbus, has said, with much good sense, that his greatest boast was to be the son of such a parent, and that he much preferred it to having a long series of noble ancestors.

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The intelligence of the youth Christopher was too evident to admit of his being brought up to his father's pursuit, who subjected himself to much pecuniary sacrifice in order to give him a good education. His paternal fondness, under the Divine blessing, neglected nothing to secure it. In the boy's early youth he was provided with masters of grammar, arithmetic, drawing, and geography, for which latter science he possessed a decided taste. He soon evinced an irresistible propensity for the sea, and during his after life never alluded to this early inclination without attributing it (with that true piety which was always one of the distinctive traits of his character) to an impulse more than human ;—one which he considered drew him irresistibly onward in the only path by which he could perform the decrees of Heaven, of which he believed himself to be the passive instrument.

His father did not discountenance such decided predilections. Fresh sacrifices were necessary, and he resolutely employed all his resources to obtain for his son an entrance to the University of Padua. Any other parent (be it said to the honour of the father of Columbus) might have sent the youth to sea in some mercantile vessel as a cabin-boy, and considered that he had thus provided for his son. But he well knew the consequences, and determined to advance his future career by enabling him to study and familiarize himself in imagination with those scenes in which he was hereafter to take so important a part, and raise himself to the most exalted position by his own knowledge and the exercise of his own intellectual powers.

At Padua the youth Columbus was of course grounded in Latin, at that time the general language taught at schools, and he soon became familiar with it. He also learnt geometry and astronomy, besides geography, and great was his joy when he commenced the study of navigation.

Thus passed the early days of Columbus: thus was his mind schooled to contend with those difficulties which he was destined to surmount, and thus it was by close early application, and the remembrance of the great efforts which his father had made to place him in the position which he filled in the world, that he acquired the difficult art of accomplishing great projects with small means, and supplying the insufficiency of these by his acquirements and energy of character. In short, in his various enterprises the merit of his work was always enhanced by the scantiness of the resources with which it was performed.

At the age of fourteen, Columbus, gifted with sufficient instruction to give freedom to his bent of mind, went to sea under the care of a relative named Colombo, who had earned a high reputation. This commander was ever ready for enterprise; active, but rash in danger, and impetuous to a degree: were a commercial speculation in hand, or an enterprise against an enemy to be undertaken, he was always the first to be consulted.

A seafaring life of all others in those early days was fraught with hazardous adventure. Commercial enterprise at sea was then less like a mere voyage than a cruise for piracy, which in some measure was legalized; and vessels thus employed were obliged at least to be able to

defend themselves. The quarrels of the different Italian States, the renowned deeds of the brave Catalans, the several petty squadrons equipped for private or political interests of chiefs who were the petty sovereigns of their lands, the military armaments of men seeking fortune by arms, and, lastly, the religious wars against the Mahometans, all contributed to bring to the Mediterranean men whose country bordered this sea to enact there the most stirring scenes of war, and to render it the best school for the young mariner. It was thus Columbus embarked, and there he was initiated in the ways and discipline of the seaman.

In 1459, when John of Anjou, Duke of Calabria, fitted out a fleet at Genoa for a descent on Naples, with the view of conquering that kingdom for his father, Rene, Duke of Provence, Columbus embarked in it, and continued to serve under his relation. The expedition lasted four years, in the course of which success was various; and Columbus frequently distinguished himself by his gallant behaviour. On one occasion he cut out a galley from the port of Tunis with no less skill than bravery.

For several years Columbus sailed with his relative Colombo in the Mediterranean; at one time espousing the quarrels of some Italian State, at others warring with the Infidels. In the narrative of naval warfare of the time, Colombo is occasionally mentioned as an Admiral, and it is creditable to the character of the young seaman to know that he had gained the confidence and esteem of this renowned man.

In several of these cruizes Columbus had a command, and took his part in some important hostile encounters,

until he accompanied his patron to the coast of Portugal to intercept four Venetian galleys expected from Flanders. He attacked one by boarding in spite of her oars, and a severe action ensued, in which much loss was sustained on both sides; when the galley took fire and both vessels were thus destroyed. This affair had nearly proved fatal to Columbus. He however fortunately seizing an oar, supported himself on it, and after two hours' swimming reached the shore in an exhausted condition. He was long in recovering from the effects of this disaster; but he had a good constitution. He proceeded afterwards to Lisbon, where he met several of his countrymen, and took up his residence among them in that city.

The foregoing incident in the life of Columbus is related on his own authority, repeated by his son Ferdinand; for it has been stated, on what have been considered good grounds, that he was already at Lisbon when this affair occurred. The Portuguese had now entered on their great series of maritime discoveries. And whether the story be true or not, it is highly probable that the spirit of enthusiasm which distinguished Columbus for all maritime enterprise, led him to Lisbon, where he might fairly expect to find encouragement in that kind of employment which was so entirely in accordance with his inclinations.

The Canary Islands, reported by ancient mariners, and called the Fortunate Islands, were yet scarcely known, their very existence was little more than the remnant of a tradition. These were rediscovered in the fourteenth century by the Genoese and Catalonians, and the frequent voyages of the Portuguese navigators to

the neighbouring coasts of Africa, and attracted some attention. These voyages were now followed up with fresh vigour through the encouragement of Prince Henry, son of John the First of Portugal, who having accompanied his father to Ceuta in an expedition against the Moors, and having heard of Guinea, looked forward to making important discoveries in that direction.

On his return the Prince retired to Sagres, where, in a modest dwelling near Cape St. Vincent, he cultivated those schemes of maritime discovery which had taken possession of his mind. It was in the calm retreat of Sagres, with an expanded view of the ocean before him, that he gave himself up to nautical science, and in particular to geography and astronomy, of which latter science the Arabs had given the first principles to Europe, and in which those of them who resided in Spain then excelled. Henry summoned learned men about him, and communicated to them his views on these subjects, with his opinion (which was premature for the time in which he lived) that Africa was circumnavigable, and that India could be reached by following its coast by the sea. He pointed out the flourishing condition of the republics of Venice and Genoa, enriched by their monopoly of Asiatic commerce, by which also they assisted their establishments on the shores of the Black Sea and Constantinople. The riches of the East, he said, although coming by a circuitous route, did not fail to secure them considerable benefit, since the merchants of these republics were those who supplied all Europe. The Prince wisely held, that it would be advantageous to Portugal to participate in the benefits thus enjoyed by

the Venetians and Genoese, and considered that some of those benefits would be gained by giving a turn to commerce and going direct to India by means of navigation.

But the art of navigation was yet in its infancy. Mariners had not ventured to lose sight of the land; they would allude with terror to the immeasurable extent of the ocean and its dangerous mountain waves: forming their ideas by the set of the tides and the sea which immediately surrounded Gibraltar, and thus magnifying in their imagination the dangers they would encounter by being exposed to these currents, which they considered were still stronger the further they were found from the shore. They believed that our globe, in the vicinity of the Equator, was divided by a burning zone, the excessive heat of which prevented any one from going beyond it. In short, the minds of people generally were occupied by a superstitious belief that whoever ventured beyond Cape Bojador on the African coast, would never live to return!

Prince Henry resolutely combated all these fears and prejudices on the grounds of reason and science. He founded a maritime school at Sagres, endowing it with the most eminent professors of navigation. Marine charts were constructed there and improved under his own immediate superintendence with the most authentic documents that could be obtained anywhere; the compass of Flavio Gioja of Amalfi was improved; books of navigation were compiled, exhibiting methods of performing nautical calculations:—in short, everything concerning navigation was studied and improved, and

from this quiet retreat a spirit of enterprise sprung forth that animated the entire nation, and gave encouragement to bold expeditions. Under this excitement the dreaded boundary of Cape Bojador was passed; even the regions of the tropic, where the imaginary belt of fire was supposed to exist, were invaded; Cape Verd was discovered; the Azores were discovered, and a navigator named John de Santarem, accompanied by Peter Escove, reached the coast of Guinea in 1471.

In order to encourage the commanders of these expeditions, King John had displayed good policy. As nothing could be better calculated to disarm popular prejudice than extending the sanction of the Church for the protection and encouragement of maritime expeditions, the approval of the Pope was obtained, and he by his spiritual authority bestowed on the crown of Portugal the right of sovereignty over all the countries which the Portuguese might discover even including India.

The publication of the Papal Bull to this effect, exercised a magic influence on the people, who entered at once into the plans of the Prince with all his enthusiasm, and thought only of penetrating down the coast of Africa with their ships and reaching even India by sea. But, alas for the young Prince! In the midst of these successes he fell the victim of an early death, in 1473, without seeing his favourite hopes realized; having only lived long enough to know that his projects of maritime discovery would be effected. Much indeed was it to be lamented that such was the early fate of a prince endowed with a mind

the amiableness of which may be judged by the simple motto adopted by him in the words "Do Good," which words were the spring of all his actions.

The fame of the Portuguese discoveries had attracted the attention of all Europe. Columbus had arrived in Lisbon in 1470, at a time when learned men and enterprising individuals were hastening there from all parts. He was then thirty-five years of age, and his moral qualities were fully developed. Let us dwell a little on some incidents of his nautical life, that will prove that he was second to no one of his time in the art of navigation. As to his physical qualities and the character of his physiognomy, it may perhaps be puerile to allude to them; but the following brief description of him is considered to convey a faithful portrait as given by his son Ferdinand. He describes his parent as having a large ample forehead, a face inclined to be long, an aquiline nose, and penetrating eyes, with a clear complexion enlivened by a fine colour. His hair during youth was light, his figure good and above the ordinary stature, his look was animated, and the general expression of his features grave and dignified. There are several portraits of him extant, among which M. Jomard gives the preference to that which for some time has been preserved in the gallery of Vincennes from the pencil of Titian, or one of the best artists of his school. The author of these lines possesses one, preserved indeed by him with a religious veneration, for it has two guarantees of its faithfulness;—one, that it is in perfect harmony with the description of his son Ferdinand; the other, the Spanish inscription beneath it, which translated runs thus:—

“ Christopher Columbus, High Admiral of the Sea, Vice Roy and Governor General of the West Indies, which he discovered. Copied from an original portrait preserved in his family. This copy, presented to the Baron Bonnefoux, Maritime Prefect, by the Vice Admiral Gravina.” Gravina, it is well known, was second in command of the Spanish Squadron under Admiral Mazaredo, who was carried into Brest by Admiral Bruix in 1799, and was Commander-in-Chief of the Spanish Fleet combined with ours at Trafalgar, where he fell in battle. He was also Chamberlain to His Catholic Majesty.

Columbus was gifted with much natural eloquence and perspicuity of reasoning. Although his was a life of adventure, and he might here and there meet with a companion not remarkable for the purity of his morals, his own were decidedly irreproachable, and no one knew better than he did how to respect himself, or how to command the respect of others. Affable, kind, and conciliating, he would even study to restrain his natural abruptness of manner by accustoming himself to a grave and dignified deportment, and by suppressing in himself all unnecessary amplification of language. His whole life was an example of sincere piety, so that when he came to unfold his theories before theologians in direct opposition to their ideas of truth, no one could make it appear that he wantonly attacked religion,—a line of conduct which served him perhaps more than any of his qualifications in obtaining for him the adoption of his plans. All were agreed in considering him well adapted for executing the extraordinary project which he had conceived of discovering the Western boundary of the

Atlantic, and that he only wanted such an opportunity as this would give him to prove the full value of the excellent qualities which he possessed.

At Lisbon Columbus married one of the daughters of an Italian named Palestrello, who died one of the most distinguished seamen in the employment of Prince Henry. He had established the Portuguese authority as Governor of the island of Porto Santo, discovered in 1418-19 by Tristan Van Zano; but notwithstanding the advantageous nature of that appointment, he left but small proof of it. The other daughter of Palestrello had married Correo, who had also been Governor of Porto Santo. After his marriage, Columbus made several voyages to Guinea, and went also to Porto Santo in consequence of his family connection. It was during his stay in that island that his son Diego was born. In the intervals between his voyages to the coast of Africa, Columbus constructed sea charts, the sale of which contributed to the comforts of his aged father, and assisted in setting his brothers out in the world.

The social intercourse which he here enjoyed with Correo, and his close application to the construction of charts, always one of his most favourite pursuits, and his examination of the MSS. and notes of his brother-in-law, showing the continual discoveries of African Coast by the Portuguese, added excitement to a naturally ardent mind, and the object of these voyages being to extend the Portuguese discoveries to India by the East, naturally suggested the idea of attempting more than this in the discovery of it by the West. The design once conceived, was ever foremost in his thoughts, and

the more he dwelt on it the more reasonable it appeared to him.

It has been said that he collected a variety of fabulous statements and reports from the African Coast as well as the Azores and Porto Santo, on the existence of land situated beyond the Atlantic, and these had given rise to his grand scheme. Had this been the case, these stories would have been equally known to Prince Henry, who would never have conceded to another the honour of originating such an enterprise as that conceived by Columbus. It is scarcely possible to deprive him of it by attributing this remarkable idea to any other cause than that advanced by Ferdinand, namely, the most matured reflection, and a judgment assisted by a liberal degree of maritime experience. Let us follow Columbus step by step, and we shall find sufficient reason to confirm the opinion of his son Ferdinand;—it will be quite evident that these vague reports and idle stories have sprung from invidious motives, and had no influence whatever over the vigorous mind of Columbus,—that his plan originated with himself and was even founded on the best of reasoning.

Toscanelli, an Italian Cosmographer, then resided at Florence, and there is a correspondence between him and Columbus, dated in 1474, in which the latter enters on the subject which had long occupied his mind. He therein advanced the principle of the earth having a spherical form, by which reason a line traced round it would be a circle like the Equator, and the inhabitants of two places on opposite sides of it would consequently be placed with their feet opposed to each other. This was held

to be one of the most rash assertions ever advanced. He divided the Equator like all other circles into 360 equal parts, and relying on the globe of Ptolemy and the new chart by Marinus of Tyre, he allowed the ancients had knowledge of 225 of these degrees, which included all the space from East to West between the town of Thiné, the Eastern extreme of Asia, and the Fortunate or Canary Islands, these being the Western boundary of the then known world. Since that period, the Portuguese discovered the Azores, rendering it necessary to add about 15 degrees to the 225 of the ancients, making up thus 240 degrees, equivalent to two thirds of the circular extent of the globe.

This conclusion of Columbus depended for its accuracy on that of Ptolemy's globe and the chart, for on these was his calculation founded. But it is evident that the Eastern extreme of Asia was extended too far East, and this error, which cannot be attributed to Columbus, was favourable to his views; for it left him to reckon only 120 degrees, or 2,400 leagues, between the Azores and the nearest part of Asia. It remained then, after having gone beyond the space occupied by these 120 degrees, either to arrive at the Eastern confines of Asia, or to discover some intervening land. If we refer to the calculations of the Arab Alfragan, founded on the opinions of Aristotle, Seneca, Pliny, and Strabo, these 120 degrees would not have consisted of 2,400 leagues; for this mathematician supposed the earth to be of less extent than it really is, and according to him each degree of the Equator would be much less than 20 leagues.

The reply of Toscanelli to the letter of Columbus was

most encouraging, for he alluded to the Venetian traveller Marco Polo having penetrated much beyond the limits assigned to them by Ptolemy, and he had travelled in the previous century to the most distant limits of the Asiatic continent. Toscanelli immediately saw the extraordinary tendency of Columbus's project; he expressed his admiration of it, and earnestly begged him to carry it into effect, assuring him that in leaving Lisbon he would only have to make good 1,350 leagues in order to arrive at the province of Mangi near Cathay, the name by which he alluded to China. To encourage him still more, he took a review of the wonderful account given of Cathay by Marco Polo,—the greatness of the Grand Khan or Emperor of those opulent countries. He alluded to the splendour of Cambalu and Quinsai, the capitals of his empire, and the wonderful riches of the island of Cipango, near Cathay, by which he probably meant Japan. Toscanelli accompanied his disquisitions by a chart, on which were delineated the Western coasts of Europe and Africa separated from the Eastern shores of Asia by the short distance of 1,350 leagues, and Japan, Antilla, and many other islands of less importance appeared on it at different distances from each other. This reply from Toscanelli made a deep impression on the mind of Columbus, for in his various occupations and in his voyages frequent allusion is made to the territories of the Grand Khan of Cathay and to the island of Japan, with the existence of which he had thus become familiar from the information of his learned correspondent.

The views of Columbus having thus received the high

approval of Toscanelli, he was convinced of their validity ; and henceforward he constantly endeavoured to advance his theory. Indeed he devoted himself to it so completely, that he never alluded to it with any doubt of realizing it. He was as certain of its truth as if he had seen and trodden on the very ground which his imagination had called into existence. A religious feeling, bordering on romance, took possession of his mind. In fact, it has been said of him, that when he spoke of his plans he assumed the air of a person who considered himself inspired by the Supreme Power, as the being of all others who was to accomplish a project which surpassed the intellectual capacities of mere mortal man to conceive, and that he was to execute a decree, in doing which he looked on himself to be no more than the humble and willing agent. And when he would add that the time was at hand when the most distant ends of the earth were about to be in communication with each other, and that all nations, isles, and people of every language were soon to be united under the banner of the Divine Redeemer of Mankind, his hearers scarcely knew which to admire most, the soundness of his arguments, the eloquence and warmth with which he advanced them, or the lively religious faith with which he was animated.

The result was, that he became absorbed in his plans. There was an air of authority about him and a dignity in his manner that struck all who saw him. He considered himself on principle above envy or slander, and in calm and serious discussion always had the superiority in argument on the subject of his schemes. To refuse to assist him in his projects was one thing ; but it was

impossible to reply to his discourse, in refutation of his arguments, and above all not to respect the man, who would say at the end of the discussion, "Such is my plan : if it be dangerous to execute, I am no mere theorist who would leave to another the prospect of perishing in carrying it out, but am ready to sacrifice my life as an example to the world in doing so. If I do not reach the shores of Asia by sea, it will be because the Atlantic has other boundaries in the West, and these boundaries I will discover."

CHAPTER II.

PROFESSIONAL SKILL OF COLUMBUS—LAYS HIS PROJECT BEFORE THE GOVERNMENT OF GENOA—ENTERPRISE OF THE PORTUGUESE—RECEPTION AND TREATMENT OF HIS PLAN—FINALLY QUILTS LISBON—PROCEEDS TO GENOA AND TO SPAIN—ARRIVES AT THE CONVENT OF LA RABIDA—HIS PROJECT APPROVED—OFFERS OF PINZON—REPAIRS WITH LETTERS TO THE COURT OF CASTILE AT CORDOVA—FERDINAND AND ISABELLA—PORTRAITS—HIS ILL RECEPTION BY THE MINISTER—FINDS POWERFUL ADVOCATES AND IS PRESENTED TO FERDINAND—OBTAINS ATTENTION TO HIS VIEWS.

ABOUT this time Columbus quitted Portugal on a voyage to Northern latitudes, and penetrated about a hundred leagues within the Arctic circle, in order, as he said, to satisfy himself how far these regions were habitable. He mentions the isle of Thule, probably Iceland, the Thule of the ancients not being so far West. In his account of this voyage we have proof of his great desire to proceed beyond the limits of the known world, and to explore the Western boundary of the Ocean. Few navigators of his day possessed the qualifications of Columbus. He had improved the education given to him by his father. Early in his life he had made many voyages, and for twenty years had navigated all the known seas; he had distinguished himself in battle, and had neglected no opportunity of improving his nautical

knowledge; he spoke several languages, had constructed many charts which obtained him the high opinion of hydrographers, and thus with a good grace could offer his services to conduct a difficult or perilous expedition, and say that he had given abundant proof that he possessed the courage, experience, and knowledge necessary to command it, with the fairest chance of success.

Several years passed before Columbus could decide how he should effect his project, for he needed a powerful friend to provide him with the means, and he soon saw the difficulty of meeting with such a person. He looked on it as belonging to the patronage of a Sovereign, who should be sufficiently powerful to protect the countries he should discover, and to reward him with those honours to which his success would entitle him. Besides, he must have seamen who would consent to follow him, for even the Portuguese themselves, notwithstanding their general use of the compass under the encouragement of Prince Henry, would only make gradual and timid advances to the South along the coast of Africa, and were still careful to keep sight of land. How could such a system meet the views of Columbus, who would require them to sail West, to find, as they would suppose, the dangerous distant borders of the Atlantic? Certainly nothing would to them appear less practicable or more dangerous.

Columbus first addressed himself, to the Government of Genoa, his native place, making known his plans, and seeking its encouragement. As a citizen of Genoa he considered this step as one of duty; and as his contribution to the prosperity of his country. He would have

set out immediately had his offer been accepted; but it was not even entertained.

Alphonso had succeeded John the First on the throne of Portugal; but his wars with Spain occupied him so much, that there was little hope that he would take up an expedition which might be both expensive and uncertain: so from the probability of a refusal no such proposal was made to him.

In the year 1480 John the Second succeeded Alphonso. The desire of John to promote discovery was very great, and in his reign the activity of the Portuguese navigators, which had flagged, was renewed. It was encouraged moreover by the art of printing, which had been invented, and which favoured the progress of navigation by facilitating the diffusion of maritime information. But the progress of the Portuguese seamen was too slow for this Prince, and he was impatient to reach the Southern extreme of Africa. They had, however, much to struggle against; for in order to do this by their mode of keeping in shore with their imperfectly manned ships, they had to contend with currents and contrary violent winds, and the delay of calms; whereas the seamen of these days, enlightened by the experience of former ages, do not make this passage as they would have done. It was not understood in those days that by running free through the trade-wind, although the American coast may be approached, and the tropic of Capricorn may be passed at apparently a loss, yet that fair West-erly winds are found, with which the Cape of Storms, as the Portuguese first called the Southern promontory of Africa, is speedily reached. Pursuing such a tedious

and difficult course as they did, well they might call it the Cabo Tormentozo, which their Monarch wisely changed to the Cape of Good Hope, to inspire his seamen with the hope of doubling it; a feat which was performed by Diaz and Vasco de Gama in 1486 and 1498.

Still dissatisfied with the slow progress of discovery made by his seamen, John the Second summoned learned men to advise with him on the subject. Among them were the celebrated Martin Behem, Rodrigo, and Joseph the Jew, astronomers and eminent geographers. Some important facts were established by them: the most prominent of which was the application of the Astrolabe to navigation, enabling seamen to observe the altitude of the stars, an important help to them for knowing their position when out of sight of land. The astrolabe was, however, but an improvement on the searing, and like this an instrument of suspension, which, on account of the motion of the ship, could give but rough results; it was far inferior to the Arbolete, invented afterwards, and this in its turn was infinitely surpassed by the reflecting instruments now in use. Nevertheless, the astrolabe was not without its good effects, for the ordinary seamen attributing to it a perfection which it did not possess, considered that navigation was then safer than before.

Columbus, who could see at once the bearing of a question, did not fail to extol the astrolabe as the instrument destined to assist him in the accomplishment of his plans; and accordingly attributed a virtue to it which could not fail to calm the fears of all who might

follow him. While the impression, therefore, that was made by the astrolabe was yet fresh, he hastened to seek an audience with the King to lay his project before him; and in the interview which followed he produced the chart of Toscanelli, and assured his Majesty that if he would grant him ships and men he would conduct them to the rich countries of the East by sailing directly West; that he would land on the rich isle of Japan, and establish a communication with the great Khan, the sovereign of one of the richest and most magnificent states in the world. The King listened to him with deep attention, and promised to refer his proposal to a council, which was composed of the persons above-mentioned and his Majesty's Chaplain Diego Ortiz, Bishop of Ceuta, a Castilian by birth, surnamed Cazadilla from the name of his native place, and who was highly esteemed for his learning.

This council, without referring to Columbus for any explanation of his scheme, at once pronounced it impossible, and its author a fanatic. But the King, who had heard Columbus, thought differently,—he considered his plans as those of a sensible man, and would not receive the decision of this learned body, but referred the matter to his Privy Council, composed of the most eminently qualified men that Portugal could produce. Unhappily it still included Cazadilla, and, as no one is generally more obstinate in his opinions than a learned man when he is in fault, by the influence of this man the theories of Columbus were ridiculed, and were declared not only impracticable, but mere dreams, devoid of all reasonable foundation. But Cazadilla did more than

this, for seeing that the King was dissatisfied with this second decision, and evinced a desire to attempt the enterprise, he proposed to him, in order to save the dignity of the crown, to send a secret expedition, unknown to Columbus, and thus to ascertain what probability there was in the truth of his theory.

The King was weak enough to adopt this unworthy advice, and to sanction with the authority of the State an odious *ruse*; so profiting by the charts and communications of Columbus, secret orders were sent to Cape Verd to dispatch a caravel from thence to attempt the plan. Columbus meanwhile was kept without any definite answer, but his hopes were fed by repeated assurances that the council could not decide prematurely on a matter of so much importance, and that time was required before they could deliver an opinion. The caravel departed; but meeting with bad weather and boisterous seas, the crew became disheartened, and seeing no land to encourage them, and nothing but a blank horizon with threatening clouds, like men engaged in a bad cause, they soon forsook it, and put back to Cape Verd, from whence they made sail for Lisbon. Arrived there they found an excuse for their want of resolution in ridiculing the project as impossible.

Such duplicity as this exasperated Columbus so much that he would hear of nothing further, not even that the King was disposed to renew the negociation. His wife had been dead for some time, and there was nothing to detain him in Portugal. He would have departed immediately if his pecuniary affairs had not prevented him; but they were much deranged from the little care he had

bestowed on them owing to his peculiar occupation. He made every effort to adjust them but without success, and being threatened with arrest, he left Lisbon in 1484, taking with him his young son Diego.

However unpropitious these events were for Columbus, they tended to show the baseness to which people of high degree can condescend. As if such conduct were not bad enough, it was insinuated that the projects of Columbus did not originate with himself, but were suggested to him in his voyages to the coast of Africa and elsewhere. Thus the pretended statue on the Easternmost promontory of the Azores, that pointed mysteriously to the West; the land that was reported to be seen sometimes from the summit of one of the Canary Islands; the pieces of wood rudely carved brought to the shores of Europe by Westerly winds; the trees found on these shores of different descriptions to those of Africa; the very carcasses which were said to be found here with features and forms that did not belong to any known race of beings:—All these were mere fabulous inventions to detract from the merit due to Columbus for originating his theory. Had there been certainty to be gained from all these reports, the King probably and his councillor Cazadilla, and even the seamen of the caravel from Cape Verd, might have persevered, and believing in them as well as he, would not have treated Columbus as a fanatic nor declared his projects extravagant and impossible to execute. Thus in Portugal (a country in which the art of navigation was most advanced and well calculated from its position to test the veracity of rumours of the existence of land beyond the Atlantic Ocean) nothing

was authenticated; the theories of Columbus were considered there as wild and impracticable, and the Portuguese sought not only to deprive him of the credit of originating his theories, but would not assist him towards proving their accuracy.

There is some uncertainty respecting the life of Columbus during the year 1485; but it appears that from Lisbon he went to Genoa, where he renewed his proposals for discovery in the West. That republic was then engaged in expensive wars, which undermined its prosperity, and could not attend to such proposals. Venice was next appealed to; but the affairs of Venice were in too critical a condition to allow her to attend to such matters, and all proposals were rejected. Henry the Seventh was then on the throne of England, a monarch whose wisdom and power Columbus had heard highly praised, so much so indeed, as to induce him to get his brother Bartholomew to set out for that country to obtain his patronage. In the meantime having satisfied his filial piety by seeing that his aged father was comfortably provided for, he departed for Spain, in hopes of finding there a more favourable reception than had been accorded to him by the different governments which he had addressed.

About half a league from Palos, an obscure fishing village on the coast of Andalusia, on a solitary eminence near the sea, and embosomed in a forest of pines, there yet stands an ancient convent of the Franciscans, dedicated to Sta. Maria de Rabida. In the beginning of the year 1486, a stranger, who had just landed from sea, wearied by fatigue, and leading by the hand a youth

much exhausted, knocked at the door of this convent, and asked for a little bread and water to restore the failing strength of his boy. The stranger was that Columbus who subsequently enriched the crown of Spain with his discoveries. He had been to Huelva in hopes of finding there his brother-in-law Correo. The Superior of the Convent walked up to the door at the same time as Columbus. He was a learned and intelligent man, who, after he had fulfilled the first duties of hospitality, was so struck by the dignified manner of his guest, that the conversation which ensued between them ended in his inviting Columbus to make some stay at the convent.

The Superior, whose name was Juan Perez de Murchena, became deeply interested in the story of Columbus, which included his maritime career in all its particulars, and the project of discovery which occupied his mind. But distrusting his own judgment of such matters, he referred to Garcia Fernandez, a learned man of Palos and friend of Perez. Fernandez was captivated with the project as Perez had also been, and it became the subject of admiration among all the pilots of the place.

Perez moreover found still greater encouragement in the approval of the plans by Martin Alonzo Pinzon of Palos, one of the most able commanders of the Spanish trading ships, who had a large number of seamen in his employment. Along with his approval of the plans of Columbus, Pinzon spontaneously offered his purse to promote the expedition; and not only that, but offered also to accompany Columbus as second in command for

the voyage. Perez, who had once been Confessor to the Queen, on seeing this, gave unbounded support to the project; he advised Columbus to go straightway to Court, and gave him a highly recommendatory letter to Fernandez de Talavera, Prior of the Prado Convent, who was then the Queen's Confessor, a man of great political influence, with whom he was personally acquainted; and he moreover promised to take care of his son Diego in the convent, and educate him. Pinzon also offered to assist Columbus in meeting the expences of the journey; and in the spring of the year 1486, Columbus, delighted by this unexpected encouragement, set out from the convent of La Rabida for the Court of Castile at Cordova, where the Sovereigns of Spain, Ferdinand and Isabella, were engaged in carrying on the conquest of Granada.

The war of expulsion against the Moors then going forward, and the general political state of the country, are too closely connected with the execution of the plans of Columbus to admit of being passed over without recording some particulars that will show the obstacles he still had to contend with in obtaining a favourable reception of his plans. Ferdinand, King of Arragon, and Isabella, Queen of Castile, then reigned in Spain: they had united their destinies and politics by marriage, and these, securing their mutual happiness, enabled them to join their efforts to effect the expulsion of the Moors, who had long been established in Granada. This was now the first object of their desires; and their whole resources were concentrated in their efforts to achieve this grand object. The two kingdoms of Arragon and Cas-

tile were quite independent of each other. Happily in the union of these two sovereigns no infringement was made on their respective rights. Thus in each country laws were administered in the name of each sovereign; but in general acts affecting both, their names both appeared: their effigies were both stamped on the national coin, and the royal seal bore the arms of Castile and Arragon. It has been said that Ferdinand was a fanatic, ambitious, egotistical, and even unscrupulous of his word; but in Spain he is always described as possessing a liberal mind, and as a man of consummate judgment, endowed with great talent, and unrivalled in the cabinet.

Contemporary writers never speak of Isabella but with the most enthusiastic admiration of her character, and time has confirmed the truth of all they have said. When Columbus reached Cordova Isabella had been married seventeen years, and is described at that time as combining a masculine activity and resolution with feminine gentleness; as accompanying her husband in the camp, assisting in his councils, and tempering his occasional asperity by her gentle and amiable disposition. In the affairs of the State she is represented as entirely occupied in civilizing the legislation, healing the ravages of the tedious internal wars, and in encouraging literature and the arts and sciences. By her fostering care the University of Salamanca acquired the high character which it enjoyed so long among other nations; in short, her prudence and sagacity seemed as if inspired by infinite wisdom. She ever watched over the interests of her people, and in the true acceptation of the word was the mother of all her subjects.

If we go back to the youthful days of Isabella, before she united her fate with that of the King of Arragon, nothing can equal the description given of her personal charms. It is impossible, even in this brief notice, to forego the gratification of preserving the following portrait of her by a foreign author. He says,—“The most poetic imagination in Spain, a country celebrated for the beauty of its women, could not conceive more perfect loveliness: her hands, her feet, her whole form, and all her movements, bore the impression of the most finished grace; of middle stature, her whole deportment was noble and dignified. At the first glance of her it was hard to say whether the perfection of her features or their general expression was most fascinating. Although born in a Spanish clime, she was descended from a long line of Gothic monarchs; and their frequent alliances with foreign princesses had blended in her features the sparkling freshness of the North with the winning vivacity of the women of the South. Her fair complexion, her profuse light brown hair, and her blue eyes of the sweetest expression and sparkling with intelligence, completed a picture of loveliness not to be surpassed. Along with so many charms, although bred at a court, a frankness, somewhat dignified, but yet inoffensive, marked her language, and added sincerity to the attractions of youth. Such was the noble-minded woman who contributed perhaps more than her husband to the final expulsion of the Moors from the Spanish territory, and who, great and patriotic as this might be, was destined to gain still more enduring fame in history from having exerted her powerful influence in achieving the discovery of the New World.

However, the holy war, as it was called in Spain, that Ferdinand and Isabella had undertaken against the Moors, occupied every one so closely when Columbus arrived at Cordova, that the time was not propitious for the adoption of his plans. Fernandez de Talavera, to whom Columbus had brought the letter of Perez, and who was to have been his protector to introduce him to their Majesties, scarcely took the trouble to read it, or even to listen to him, and merely answered him that his proposals could not be entertained. There is nothing to show that Talavera even mentioned them at court; if he did so, it must have been in such cold terms that they could not be noticed. The campaign against the Moors was opened in 1486 by the King and Queen, and pursued with vigour. As for Columbus, he waited at Cordova for more favourable circumstances, hoping for everything from time, as well as from the efforts he was making to render his schemes palatable to enlightened men with whom he might be called to communicate. He resumed his occupation of making charts in order to support himself, and in this humble position he had frequently to endure the taunts of those who, incapable of comprehending him, indulged in the malicious pleasure of ridiculing him, either on account of his poverty, or his schemes, which they did not understand.

It was in this town of Cordova that he found a sympathizing spirit in a lady named Beatrice Enriquez, to whom he became much attached. The particulars of this marriage, however, are not known; but it is well ascertained that she was sprung from a good family. She was the mother of Ferdinand, his second son, to

whom he was as much attached as to his eldest son Diego, and who became in after life his father's historian. The particulars of this part of the life of Columbus are unknown, and it is even doubted by an illiberal world whether his attachment to Enriquez was legitimized by marriage.

The plans of Columbus, however, got abroad, and obtained some credit. Among others, Alonzo de Quintavilla, Comptroller of Finance of the kingdom of Castile, struck by the force of his reasoning, and the dignity of his language and manner, as well as by the earnestness of his conviction, became one of his most zealous advocates, and gave him a home at his house. Antonio Geraldini, the Pope's nuncio, and his brother Alexander, tutor of the younger children of Ferdinand and Isabella, also became his zealous partizans. They introduced him to Gonzalez de Mendoza, Archbishop of Toledo, and grand Cardinal of Spain, a person of great consequence at court, where no affairs of importance were undertaken without his advice, and on account of which he obtained the title of the third king of Spain. He had a good clear judgment as well as decision and promptness in business, and was justly pleased with the eloquence and noble bearing of Columbus, whom he heard with marked attention, and quickly comprehended the magnitude of his designs and the justness of his reasoning: from his first conversation with him he became his firm friend: he further spoke of him to the King, and the result of his communication was soon apparent, as the audience which he sought for was immediately granted.

Columbus was then 51 years old, an age rather advanced

to endure the fatigues of a sea life and the perils of such a voyage as that which he contemplated ; but time had not weakened his resolutions nor the ardour of his mind, although with his repeated disappointments its first inroads were apparent in his hair. But his figure was upright, and his grave and dignified bearing was enhanced by the manly simplicity of his actions. In his attire he was by no means remarkable either for finery or inattention to it ; it was always simple and inexpensive,—and his demeanour marked him as the man formed to command. He certainly possessed a superior degree of information, and enjoyed the reputation of having visited either as chief or otherwise, every known region accessible by sea, and having fought with valour on several occasions. He was considered the most able and accomplished mariner of his day, and no one was more constant in his religious duties than he was.

Some of the letters of Columbus at this period state that when he repaired to the audience obtained for him by Gonzalez, he evidently felt the importance of the subject in which he was engaged, and wore an air of confidence as one who virtually considered himself an instrument in the hands of Providence. The King received him with that cold reserve which formed a part of his naturally distrustful character ; but he was too good a judge of mankind not to appreciate the calm and modest demeanour of Columbus, and he soon became interested in his plan. Finding that he was listened to with attention, Columbus unfolded his views in a masterly style, and concluded by assuring Ferdinand that the discoveries he should make must surpass in import-

ance those of the Portuguese on the Southern coast of Africa; and that the glory of those discoveries would reflect more honour on the crown of Spain than all that the Portuguese Sovereigns had acquired.

Ferdinand seemed satisfied: he desired Talavera to summon the most learned astronomers and geographers of Spain to consider the subject; and Columbus rejoiced at seeing this happy result of his audience, for he considered that by being present himself he would be able to explain his views clearly; and anticipating that this learned body would be above prejudice, and that some of them perhaps might already be in his favour, he considered his object all but gained, and that it would only remain to determine how it should be carried into execution.

CHAPTER III.

THE CONFERENCE—GOOD REASONING OF COLUMBUS—HIS PLAN COMPARED WITH THAT OF THE PORTUGUESE—HIS IDEA OF THE POSITION OF TERRESTRIAL PARADISE—GAINS ADVOCATES—UNFAVOURABLE RESULT—A SECOND CONFERENCE—HIS PLAN DEFERRED—PROPOSES IT TO SPANISH NOBLEMEN—RETURNS TO LA RABIDA—PEREZ ADDRESSES THE QUEEN—FAVOURABLE RESULT—COLUMBUS CALLED TO COURT—SANTA FE—DIFFICULTIES IN ENTERTAINING THE PLAN—DISAPPOINTMENT OF COLUMBUS—FURTHER APPEAL TO THE QUEEN—COLUMBUS RECALLED.

THE conference took place at Salamanca, in the Dominican Convent of St. Stephen, then considered the most enlightened in Christendom. Columbus was received there with marks of distinction apart from the usual hospitality due to strangers, all of which he received with that becoming modesty that might be anticipated from his character; and he appeared before this learned body of men (which combined the wisdom of the country) with the self-possession of one who is assured of the soundness of his plans. The members of the council were not limited to the professors of the University; they included several dignitaries of religion and learned monks, among whom Columbus soon found that some were already influenced by sentiments unfavourable

to him. Some, with the aversion natural to pedants against any innovation of their doctrine, looked on Columbus, unknown to them as a navigator, as no member of any scientific institution ; and could only therefore consider him as some adventurer or wild fanatic. The Dominican Monks of St. Stephen, however, listened attentively to him ; the rest concluding that since so many learned men had been engaged in geographic research, so many expert seamen had navigated the seas from time immemorial, and none of them had ever alluded to the possibility of there being land beyond the Atlantic ; and since they had always considered the ocean impenetrable in that direction, it must necessarily be held as presumptuous in any one to affirm, without better proof than that brought forward, that land should exist there ; and if vessels went in search of it, they would be sent to inevitable destruction.

Columbus met all these assertions with the remark that nothing had been yet substantiated against his plan. The Bible and the works of the holy fathers were then advanced as incontrovertible arguments against him. Thus the existence of the antipodes asserted by him, was declared to be impossible, by virtue of some passages in the writings of St. Augustine and Lactantius ; who considered such doctrine as incompatible with the fundamental principles of Christianity. To advance the supposition that there was a portion of the earth opposite to that which was inhabited, was to imply that Adam was not the common father of mankind, and necessarily contrary to the true and acknowledged doctrine : therefore, to assert such a thing, was deliberately to attack

the truths of Holy Writ. Again it was added, that as St. Paul in his Epistle to the Hebrews had said, that the Heavens might be compared to a tabernacle or tent spread over the ground, the earth ought to be considered as a flat plain, like the ground on which the tent stands.

There were nevertheless some members of this council who considered it by no means impossible that the earth might be a globe: but these again argued, that the heat of the portion under the equator and other material obstacles, would prevent ships from going beyond it; and as to the Western route proposed in order to reach the Eastern lands of Asia, the voyage would be quite impracticable, as it would take above three years to accomplish it. Further, it was said, that even admitting that Columbus should be so fortunate as to reach India, the globular form of the earth, if it were so, would create a huge mountain of water, which would oppose his return, however strong and favourable the wind might be found.

To all this specious argument Columbus simply replied by demonstrating the globular form of the earth from two well known facts. The first was, that when a vessel sails from the land her hull first disappears; then her lower sails; and these disappear in succession, from the lowest to the highest, and at last the summit of the mast is lost to view. The contrary, he added, takes place when a vessel approaches, or when two vessels approach each other at sea: in fine weather the most elevated parts are seen long before the lower, and the hull becomes visible at the last. Hence he inferred that such a phenomenon could only be accounted for by the

sphericity of the earth, a portion of which was interposed between the vessel and the spectator.

The second argument of Columbus was, that in the eclipses of the moon it had been observed that on whatever part the eclipse commenced, whether partial or total, the shadow produced by the earth on the lunar disc had always a circular form; and it was thence inferred that a spherical body only could in all positions produce a spherical shadow. The laws of gravitation were not then established, and the question of the antipodes and people placed feet to feet without falling from each other, could not be so easily resolved. But it might be proved by inference; for if two vessels were some distance apart and invisible to each other on account of the sphericity of the earth, it would be evident that the vertical lines passing through the middle of each vessel could not be parallel. Yet notwithstanding this no one on board lost his equilibrium from such relative inclination, thereby proving that nothing of the kind takes place at the antipodes, and that people may walk about or sail abroad there just as naturally as we do on our own soil and seas. These arguments refuted at once the objection about the mountains of water said to oppose the return of vessels from a distant voyage. Columbus also continued in reply, that he desired only to sail to the shores of India or Asia, as the Portuguese had proposed to do by coasting along the African continent; and that the real difference only between their plans and his was that he would sail directly to the West. He argued that he should not then be landing on unknown or imaginary

countries, but in those not far off, and wherein the terrestrial paradise was situated; adding, that the inhabitants of those parts were descended from Adam as well as ourselves, and thus he considered his plans as being founded on the truths of the Sacred Volume.

The members of the council who were opposed to Columbus, marvelling at his reasoning, as indeed they all might well do, now imagined they had a question to put which would completely disconcert him. They asked him, how he knew for certain that the limits of the Atlantic in the West were formed by the coasts of Asia? Without a moment of hesitation Columbus made the following admirable reply, worthy indeed of the discoverer of the new world. "If indeed," said he, "the Atlantic has other limits in that direction than the lands of Asia, it is no less necessary that they should be discovered, and I will discover them." The answer gave evidence of determination. Whatever land might form the Western border of the Atlantic, whether that might be Asia or not should be discovered, and he himself would be the person to discover it.

This answer of Columbus, one well worthy of the man, has not been appreciated as it deserves. It should have ensured him undeniable priority in the discovery of America, although he might not have first ascertained the existence of the American continent. But it remained to answer the theological difficulties opposed to him by the majority of the council. The dignified air which, as already observed, was one of the characteristic traits of manner in our illustrious seaman, his firm and noble bearing, his penetrating glance, the animation of

his voice, and the force of his eloquence, all these seemed now collected into one focus of action, when, throwing aside his charts and papers, he became inspired with his cause. He did not hesitate to meet his adversaries even on their own ground, and in a religious point of view argued with them from their own doctrines. There was no difficulty with which he did not grapple; as a religious man and even as a theologian of no mean order, he cited passages of prophecy from Holy Writ that overturned all the arguments advanced against him. These he considered were the real type, the formal announcement of those magnificent discoveries which were in store for him, and which the Maker of the Universe had destined he should carry into effect. Such were the arguments of Columbus before an astonished audience of learned prelates and other men. But who was he that proved himself after all the most practically learned of that assembly, if not the best theologian? Without doubt that man was Christopher Columbus.

Let us, however, render full justice to the conference. Not only were its members sensibly moved by the eloquence and arguments of Columbus, so masterly were they, so scrupulously religious, so earnestly and sincerely advanced, that many of them were convinced he was right, and abandoned their objections. Among these was Diego de Deza, a Dominican monk, professor of theology, who afterwards attained to the second ecclesiastical dignity of Spain, that of Archbishop of Seville. He was a learned man, and sufficiently so to appreciate the theories of Columbus, to gain him partisans, but not sufficient to secure a favourable result to his cause. It

was something in those days to see the results of councils favourable to a design without arriving at a formal declaration of opinion. At length the ultimate decision of the conference was left to the judgment of Fernando de Talavera, who, unfortunately for Columbus, was not in his favour, and who, much pressed by public affairs at that time, had himself not arrived at any opinion with regard to it; so being obliged to follow the court on its removal from Cordova in the beginning of 1487, the whole subject was left in utter uncertainty.

Columbus, however, was not discouraged at this unfavourable termination of proceedings. He followed the court, and did not relax his exertions; he even obtained the promise that his plans should be further considered; but the frequent changes of place consequent on the war prevented it. If Columbus had been compelled to adopt the part of a suppliant, he had done so with becoming dignity. He shared in the fatigues of the soldiers and others, who flocked from all parts of the country to fight for the liberation of Spain. He was present at the siege and reduction of Malaga and Baza. He assisted at the important affair, the result of which was that El Zagal, one of the Moorish kings in Spain, resigned his crown in favour of Ferdinand, and he distinguished himself by his personal bravery on several occasions.

During the siege of Baza, two of the monks destined to guard the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem, arrived at the camp, commissioned by the Sultan of Egypt to declare that he would put to death all Christians found in his territories if Spain did not cease from carrying on war against the Moors. This threat made so deep an

impression on the high minded Columbus, that his zeal for his religion suggested the project of consecrating the profits which he believed would be derived from his intended discoveries to the rescue of the Holy Sepulchre from the infidels. With that earnestness of purpose so natural to him, he never abandoned this hope, and died regretting that he had not been able to carry it into effect.

His new friend Diego de Deza and his zealous partisan Alonzo de Quintanilla assisted in defraying his expences, and would have done more if the Spanish sovereigns, in acknowledgment of his services and the zeal which he showed in associating himself with the operations of the army, had not in some measure attached him to the court, and led to his being considered as one of the household, and therefore provided for; but they went further, for when there was any respite in the prosecution of the war, Ferdinand encouraged the consideration of the voyage. Some incident, however, always interfered to prevent the renewal of the subject.

This state of things lasted until the end of the year 1491, at which time the army marched to attack Granada; and Columbus, foreseeing the delay which he would suffer, should no decision be arrived at, earnestly pressed its reconsideration. His request was granted, and Fernando de Talavera was ordered to preside at a fresh conference. The majority of this council, however, condemned the proposal as entirely impossible, with the addition that it did not become powerful sovereigns to entertain such important enterprises on such slender grounds as those of Columbus. Thus the scheme was

relinquished: but the consideration in which Columbus was held in the army, and the interest which Ferdinand still entertained in his favour, prevented it from being forgotten; and Columbus was assured that the anxiety of the war, and the expences occasioned by it, only prevented the adoption of his plan; but that as soon as it was over the reconsideration of his scheme should be renewed. Still Columbus was greatly disappointed. He regarded this reply as evasive, and determined to return to Seville, and no longer to reckon on the resources of the throne for aid in the execution of his plans, which for the space of twenty years had absorbed his whole mind, had been the spring of all his actions, and the first object of his wishes.

His brother Bartholomew had not been inactive. He had visited France and England, and had made known there the projects of Columbus. He had even succeeded in interesting the sovereigns of these kingdoms in his plan, the intelligence of which reached Columbus at the time that he received an invitation from the King of Portugal to return to Lisbon. He was much astonished at this; but he had made a good impression in Spain, and being averse to leaving his family he conceived that he might possibly succeed in obtaining the assistance of some of the powerful noblemen of that country, who possessed large estates and considerable influence, and who enjoyed, moreover, the privilege of feudal rights, and might be regarded as the petty sovereigns of their domains. Impressed with these ideas, he now gave up the plan of leaving Spain, and addressed himself successively to two of the most opulent noblemen of that

country, the Dukes of Medina Sidonia and of Medina Celis, who had large estates on the sea coast, in which were several ports much frequented by vessels.

The Duke of Medina Sidonia entered at first readily into the views of Columbus, and was dazzled at the prospect they offered him; but, on reflection, he considered they must be greatly exaggerated; and after several interviews on the subject he at last gave it up. The Duke of Medina Celis appeared equally favourable to the scheme, and was even on the point of granting three caravels, then bound to St. Mary, that were at his disposal; but the fear of encroaching on the rights of the crown prevented him from doing anything.

Thus, again defeated in his plans, Columbus determined on leaving Spain, when he considered over the different proposals made by the King of Portugal and his brother Bartholomew, and thought of adopting that which seemed to offer the best chance: but the indignity practised on him by the Portuguese was too deeply impressed on him to be forgotten, and he resolutely declined all offers from that quarter, and determined first on going to Paris; from whence, should he be refused there, he would go on to London. First, however, he would repair to the convent of La Rabida, where he had left his son Diego under the care of his good friend Perez, the superior of the convent; from whence he proposed to take Diego to Cordova, where Beatrice Enriques and his second son Fernando still resided. The worthy superior deeply regretted his ill success as he saw him at the door of the convent, after an absence of seven years passed in the anxieties of application. The dejected air of Columbus

too truly testified how far he was from being happy ; and when Perez learnt that he had come to take leave of him and bid a final adieu to Spain, he indignantly opposed his intentions by every argument he could find. As already observed, Perez had once been confessor to the Queen, and knew her character well. He knew she had a liberal mind, and was easily accessible to those who could give counsel based on the foundation of religion that would contribute to the glory of her kingdom. Under these impressions, Perez took upon himself the responsibility of addressing a letter to her, begging of her not to withhold her approval of so important a project as that of Columbus ; and reading the letter to his guest, made him promise not to depart until the result of this new step in the business was developed, one indeed from which he himself could not but anticipate success.

A messenger was forthwith charged to proceed to court with the letter, and to do his utmost to deliver it to her Majesty in person, who was then with the camp at Santa Fe before the town of Granada. Faithfully he performed his mission, and returned after fourteen days with a reply from the Queen, expressing thanks to the superior for his communication, accompanied by an invitation to court, at the same time giving hopes that the project of Columbus would be taken up.

This was joyful news both to Perez and his guest. The former lost not a moment in setting out for Santa Fe. As soon as he arrived an audience was given him, at which he pleaded the cause of his friend with success. The plans of Columbus had never reached Isabella in the manner they were intended to do. They had been

slightly alluded to, and with that indifference which rather injured than promoted them ; but being explained to her by Perez, her Majesty desired that he might be immediately presented to her, and remitted a sum of money to him to defray his expences, with which he was once more enabled to set out for the court at Santa Fe.

The expulsion of the Moors from Spain had been nearly completed ; but Granada, their last hold, was still unsubdued, being defended by the Moorish chief Boabdil el Chico. During the summer of 1491, when the town was closely invested, and the Queen with her children was anxiously watching the progress of the siege, an accident which happened proved nearly fatal to the royal family and a large part of the Spanish army. The Queen's pavilion caught fire, and was speedily reduced to ashes with others of several of the nobility, and much wealth in the shape of jewels and silver plate was lost. In order to prevent the recurrence of a similar disaster, and doubtless reckoning on the submission of Granada, which contained within its walls the renowned Alhambra, the King and Queen resolved as their most important duty to perform a work which would alone render the siege memorable. They at once formed the design of founding a city, which was laid out accordingly, and thus to show the Moors in Granada that by opposing a city to theirs no respite would take place until the fall of Granada. In the space of three months the new city was completed ; a work, the rapid execution of which, under a burning sun, evinced the devotedness of the Christian army to their cause, and their reliance on the Supreme Power to assist them. The new

town thus finished was named Santa Fe, an appellation which harmonized well with the zeal displayed in its construction; and its effect on the Moors was just what it was intended it should be: they regarded it as a proof that their enemies were determined to persevere in the siege to the last; and it greatly influenced the submission of Boabdil, who surrendered the Alhambra some weeks only after its completion. Santa Fe still remains an object of great curiosity to visitors, as the only place of any note in Spain which has never been under the dominion of the Moors. On the 24th of November, 1491, the great event took place which terminated this truly patriotic war, after it had been prosecuted with unceasing vigour by Ferdinand of Arragon and Isabella of Castile, whose policy, as well as personal interests, had ever been directed with the most perfect concord.

Columbus arrived in time to witness the reduction of Granada: he was fortunate enough to see Boabdil, the last of the Moorish sovereigns in Spain, come forth from the celebrated Alhambra, and deliver up the keys of this favourite abode to Isabella and Ferdinand. This is one of the most splendid triumphs in Spanish history. On all sides nothing was to be seen but military rejoicings or religious ceremonies in commemoration of the glorious event. Columbus, lost in the crowd, and little noticed at the time, took however a very sincere part in this festival, for he felt more confidence in the Queen than in any other person, and the victory, which was the occasion of the rejoicing, inspired him with the hope that his plans were about to be realized.

The promise was kept, and authorized persons were appointed to negotiate with the Genoese navigator. Among them was Fernando de Talavera, who had just been nominated bishop of the newly conquered town. But great difficulties soon appeared, arising from the principal stipulation of Columbus that he should be invested with the title as well as the privileges of Admiral and Vice-Roy of the lands or countries he should discover; and that the tenth part of the funds or money arising from the commerce or conquest of these countries, should be granted to him. Much indignation was evinced at these high pretensions, and it was demanded how, when Columbus had hazarded nothing of his own and had nothing to lose, he could presume to expect all these advantages and honours. Columbus therefore lowered his demand, and satisfying himself that he had friends who would aid him with funds, offered to defray an eighth part of the expense of the expedition provided he was allowed an eighth part of the benefits which would arise from it. Such proposals were by no means accepted, and as the illustrious mariner would not agree to lower his terms, the negotiation was again broken up.

The conduct of Columbus has been greatly applauded in thus endeavouring to obtain what he considered was his due, on account of the magnitude of the enterprise and the perils by which it would be attended. It has been said indeed that the magnitude of the reward was necessary to convince his enemies of the great importance of his cause, and also to inspire confidence in those whom he would have under his command. However this may be, the expedition was thus much retard-

ed ; and it was only through unforeseen circumstances that it was taken up at a later period. Columbus might have justly said,—“ I have confidence in my own powers ; I am satisfied that I shall accomplish my object, the most difficult and the most important ever conceived by man. For more than twenty years I have in vain solicited assistance to effect it ; this I have at length found, and should I hesitate about vain titles and miserable questions of money ! If I do not succeed nothing can reinstate me as I am ; but if I bring this enterprise to a glorious conclusion, what man will have done what I shall have effected ? The name of Columbus will be preserved throughout future ages not the least among those which adorn the annals of the world.” Such might have been the magnanimous reply of Columbus. But however this may be, he persisted in his demands, in consequence of which he left Santa Fe for Cordova, to take leave of his wife and children, and then to proceed to Paris.

But his best friends could not endure this. Among them was St. Angel, receiver of the ecclesiastical revenues of Arragon ; and Quintanilla, who both prepared to visit the Queen. St. Angel took the lead, and he performed his task with so much ability that the Queen became deeply interested by the force of his arguments and the eloquence of his appeal. He extolled the qualities of Columbus, and justified his conduct with so much warmth as a man devoted to the glory of her country, that the Queen, in that sincerity of heart for which she was so much admired, at once exclaimed,—“ Let him return, bid him return !” when suddenly re-

collecting that Ferdinand, whose resources were exhausted by the war, might not possess sufficient funds for equipping the expedition, the Queen again exclaimed with enthusiasm,—“Yes, let him return; I will charge the crown of Castile with the expedition, and will pay its expences with my diamonds and jewels.” It has been well observed, and will bear repeating anywhere, that this piece of inspiration, this noble and self-denying generosity on the part of Isabella, exhibited her character at one of the finest moments of her life; one which had already been marked by glorious events. It is said that the title of Patroness of the great event of the discovery of the New World, was, by her own command, affixed to her name. St. Angel only waited to assure her Majesty that such a sacrifice would not be necessary, and then hastened to despatch a messenger to Columbus, desiring him on the part of the Queen to return without delay to Santa Fe.

As Christopher Columbus was pursuing his journey on a mule towards Cordova, pondering on his disappointments, he had just reached the bridge of Pinos, about two leagues from Granada, and celebrated for some heroic deeds in the struggle against the Moors, when he was overtaken by a horseman at full speed, who delivered a letter to him from St. Angel to the effect of the Queen's command. The first impulse of Columbus, so wounded were his feelings, led him to refuse to return; but on reading the letter carefully, and finding that the Queen herself had invited him, and had offered that the crown of Castile should defray the expense of the expedition, he was overcome with delight, the tears of grati-

tude sparkled in his eyes as he exclaimed, turning towards Santa Fe, "God be praised: He it is who inspires the Queen, and I shall succeed." Care had been taken that he should be presented to her Majesty on his arrival, and his reception is one of those historical events which deserve to be dwelt on in this narrative.

CHAPTER IV.

RECEPTION OF COLUMBUS AT THE COURT OF CASTILE—AUDIENCE WITH THE SOVEREIGNS—HIS GRACIOUS RECEPTION BY ISABELLA—HIS PROPOSALS ACCEPTED—CONDITIONS OF THE VOYAGE—SOUNDNESS OF THE VIEWS OF COLUMBUS—THE VESSELS ORDERED—DELAY IN THEIR EQUIPMENT—SENSATION AND DISCOMFITURE.

COLUMBUS had now attained his sixtieth year: his sojourn had appeared to him as a blank in his life, which seemed to be stealing from him, leaving the object of his wishes still unattained. But, however depressed his mind might be by continual disappointment, he was still exempt from weakness, and although

“ His head was silvered o’er with age,”

his eye yet retained all its animation; the expression of his countenance and his general deportment had lost nothing of its dignity. Such he was when presented to Isabella. He advanced with a confident step, and, according to etiquette, prostrated himself at her feet. The Queen, who had never before regarded him with much attention, was struck with his appearance, and immedi-

ately addressed him in these words:—"Señor Columbus, you are welcome. All our differences of opinion have ceased; rise, and take my word that they have. Above all," she continued, turning towards her courtiers, "there must be no dispute; the object is too important to admit of it: that is all I wish."

A general exclamation of satisfaction from all present followed these words, and Columbus, with that manly earnestness which imparted so much force to his expressions, replied, "I thank your Majesty most sincerely for your generosity, which, in my estimation, is more precious than even this day, a day for which I have hardly dared to hope, and God will reward you for it. But can I flatter myself that the King will not withhold his approval from my enterprise?" to which replied her Majesty.

"You, Señor Columbus, are the servant of the crown of Castile; but as nothing of importance takes place in my dominions without the approval of the King of Arragon, his consent has been obtained for your project; although his wisdom and superior mind have not led him to embrace this cause from the same motives which have guided a woman, naturally more confiding and more inclined to hope."

"Who," replied Columbus, with that sincerity which was peculiar to him, "who could desire a mind more elevated, or a faith more pure, than that which adorns your Majesty? But if I have taken the liberty to speak of the King, it is because his prudence and protection might shield me from the sarcasms and raileries of illiterate men, and secure to me from all classes in the

kingdom a moral support that would prove of very great value."

At this moment Ferdinand appeared, and Isabella addressed him in the following terms, accompanied by a look beaming with enthusiasm.

"We have recovered our fugitive,—nothing now is adverse to his voyage, and should he arrive at the Indies, it will be as glorious a triumph for the church as the conquest has been for us of the countries so long in possession of the Moors."

"I am well pleased," said the King, "to see Señor Columbus again; and even should he accomplish but the half of our hopes, the crown as well as himself would be so greatly enriched, that his wealth would embarrass him."

"A Christian," replied the Mariner, "will always know how to appropriate his wealth as long as the Holy Sepulchre remains in the power of infidels."

"Indeed," added the King, in his shrill voice, "Señor Columbus then engages at once in the discovery of the new world and in a crusade against the infidels!"

"Sire," said Columbus, "such has been my object from the time that I beheld two Monks, guardians of the Holy Sepulchre, approaching your camp, and heard them deliver threats from the Moor that your Majesty has so nobly braved: my riches, should I ever acquire any, cannot, I consider, be devoted to a nobler end."

The Queen here interposed, apprehensive perhaps that the conversation might take an unfavourable turn, and changing it dexterously and kindly, she spoke to Columbus of his hopes, his projects, his past voyages, the

tempests he had encountered, the conflicts in which he had taken part, and the perils he had surmounted. Columbus replied to all that concerned his projects and hopes with modest assurance, and with a clearness which left nothing to be explained, and which won over the King, and overcame some prejudices which his zeal for the Holy Sepulchre had inspired. As to shipwrecks, battles, and the dangers to which he had been exposed, he observed, "Since the Supreme Power has awakened my mind to more important objects,—since he has made choice of me to fulfill his will, that his name might be spread throughout the earth, my memory has ceased to dwell on my past dangers."

Still more pleased with him than before, Isabella wished to give him a more convincing proof of the interest she took in his cause, and, like a sensible woman, knowing that she could gratify his paternal feelings by an act of grace done only for the children of the most influential persons, said to him,—

"Señor, you have a son already grown up, but who cannot accompany you to sea. He shall therefore remain with us. You must entrust him to our care; we will appoint him page to Don Juan," the heir to the throne.

Columbus imagined himself in a dream; this kindness affected him to tears, and deprived almost of the power of expression, he fell on his knees before the Queen and said,—

"I shall henceforth be the servant of your Majesty. I am indeed the servant and subject of the Sovereigns of Spain; my heart and my arm are devoted to them, and to them belongs my life."

Some legal formalities relating to the voyage succeeded to this interview. Juan de Colonna, the Royal Secretary, was directed to draw up a written agreement with Columbus, the terms of which were:—

I.—That Columbus himself, during his life, and after him his heirs and successors, should enjoy the title of High Admiral of all the seas, lands, or continents he might discover, and have a right to the same honours and privileges as those possessed by the High Admiral of Castile.

II.—That he should be Vice-Roy and Governor-General of all the aforesaid lands or continents, with the right to nominate three candidates for the government of each island or province, where he could not preside in person; out of which number of three the choice of one should remain with the crown.

III.—That he should have a right to the tenth part of the benefits derived from the produce of the countries placed under his jurisdiction as High Admiral.

IV.—That he or his representative should be the sole judge in all disputes that might arise respecting the affairs of commerce between those countries and Spain.

V.—That, finally, he should be allowed to contribute an eighth part of the expences of all expeditions directed towards those same countries, and that therefore he should have a right to the eighth part of the profits arising from those expeditions.

These stipulations were agreed to and signed by Ferdinand and Isabella at Santa Fe on the 17th of April, 1492, and their signatures were also affixed to those documents, orders, edicts, and plans which formed the se-

quel to these stipulations; but the crown of Castile alone remained charged with the expense of the expedition which was resolved on, and placed entirely under the orders of Columbus.

This contract at first sight does not appear to wear more than legal importance for deciding the rights and privileges of the principal parties interested by it; but on considering it more closely, important expressions appear in it, proving undeniably that Columbus was not blindly seeking a route to India across the Atlantic, but that he undertook it as a man of learning, considering it highly probable that before arriving there he might find some intervening land.

In later days, and even to the present time, there are envious persons who have sought to deprive the illustrious mariner of the honour of discovering the New World: persons who have regarded him as a visionary, obstinately looking beyond China and the island of Japan, and as having only reached America by chance, or in his search for imaginary countries. Such persons have not the generosity to give Columbus credit for his own words, when pressed by one of the professors at the conference of Salamanca, he answered that if in a westerly direction the Atlantic had other limits than those of India, *he would discover them*. Was there any doubt of land in this reply? The above stipulations were copied from the original document written from the dictation of Columbus by Juan de Colonna. In two different places of it the words "lands or continents" appear. Columbus evidently retains to himself the privileges and rights over these lands or continents that he should discover,

an undeniable proof that he clearly foresaw that some land or continent might and even did exist between Asia and the western coast of Europe. The discovery then of that continent now called America occupied all his attention, and it may be affirmed on the testimony of the above stipulations that he had the outline in his mind of what he actually discovered long before he did so.

The expedition, destined for this bold and hazardous enterprise of discovery, was not however to be equipped at any of the principal ports of Spain, but at the obscure harbour of Palos de Moguer, the same little port of Andalusia in which it will be remembered that Columbus landed in Spain, and from whence he went to seek assistance at the neighbouring convent of La Rabida. He made choice of this place for two reasons,—first, that its position was outside the Strait of Gibraltar and thus better adapted for getting to sea, thereby avoiding the foul winds that vessels have to contend with on leaving the Mediterranean: the second was, that it was included in a state order to furnish two caravels, manned, whenever called on to do so, for the service of the crown of Spain.

It was customary in Turkey to call vessels of large tonnage caravels; but in Spain and Portugal this name was generally applied to small craft rigged to carry lateen sails. These were by no means the most desirable kind of vessels for the voyage. Accounts are wanting as to their size, shape, &c., on which points, as might be expected, reports are contradictory; and it is much to be regretted that no research as yet has completely elucidated them. We must therefore leave them to con-
jecture.

ture, and be content with the following as the most probable view of the subject.

The two caravels equipped at Palos for the crown, were vessels of the size of some of our large coasting vessels: one was called the *Santa Maria*, the other the *Niña*; a third was soon added and named the *Pinta*. The *Santa Maria* only was decked from end to end; the two others were merely half-decked,—the stems and sterns being high above the water-line.

The *Santa Maria*, commanded by Columbus, was a vessel of a hundred tons burthen, rigged to carry square sails; the *Niña* and *Pinta* had only lateen sails, and were in a very bad condition to profit by any fair wind they might have in the course of their voyage. The whole number of men embarked in the three vessels did not exceed one hundred and twenty.*

Such were the slender resources placed at the disposal of Christopher Columbus,—vessels with which the most trifling expedition would hardly be undertaken in these days. Such were the means with which he was to execute the most hazardous voyage yet performed; and which he accepted without hesitation, his patrons imagining perhaps that his experience, ability, and vigilance, would compensate for all their defects.

But such was not the prevalent feeling among the people of Palos, and more especially among the families of the mariners who were to embark in these caravels. The rumour of fitting them out fell heavily on the minds of people there as elsewhere, for it was believed that be-

* Note VI., Appendix.

yond a certain distance from the land the ocean was a kind of chaos, where currents and whirlpools threatened to engulf vessels, and that if ever they were reached, they would never return from them.

Hence the first order from the court to prepare the caravels was disregarded; the terror was so complete, that a second order, more imperative than the first, authorizing Columbus to act with rigour, was equally disregarded, although a fine of 200 maravedes per day would be inflicted in case of delay. Columbus, indeed might have availed himself of this, but with his usual wisdom he preferred leaving time to do its work. He thus delayed until the arrival of Martin Alonzo Pinzon, who had agreed with him so well from his first arrival at Palos, and whom he daily expected. Alonzo Pinzon was in fact to command the Pinta, and Columbus joyfully welcomed his arrival. His affairs then began to take a more favourable turn; the people could scarcely believe the truth of what was passing before their eyes; they could not indeed be but sensibly affected at seeing Alonzo, to whom they had been long accustomed, a frank, loyal, and resolute sailor, furnish Columbus with the funds, according to his engagement, necessary to defray the eighth part of the expences of the expedition, accept the command of the Pinta, take his brother Francisco Martin as his second, and request Columbus to bestow the command of the Niña, a third vessel, on one of his brothers named Vicente Yañez Pinzon.

PART II.

THE VOYAGE AND THE LANDFALL.

CHAPTER I.

DEPARTURE OF COLUMBUS FOR THE CANARIES—HIS PARTING ADDRESS TO THE SOVEREIGNS OF SPAIN—BAD STATE OF THE PINTA—PROCEEDS TO GRAND CANARY—ERUPTION OF TENE-RIFE—THE ISLETA—EARLY POSSESSION OF THE CANARIES BY THE SPANIARDS—PUERTO DE LA GOMERA.—ILLUSIVE ISLANDS.

At the hour of eight in the morning of Friday the 3rd of August, 1492, Columbus, with his little squadron of three caravels, above mentioned, sailed from Palos;* crossing the bar of Saltes, the ships were soon bounding along at a good brisk rate before a fresh breeze, their course shaped for the Canary Islands, from whence he intended to take his departure for the West. He had, at length, overcome all his difficulties; he had obtained his desire, and, zealous for the due execution of his design, he forthwith commits to paper the following

Note I. Appendix.

address to the Sovereigns in whose service he was now embarked. It is a solemn production, worthy of the man who had formed the project that he had, and who considered himself the instrument in the hands of the Almighty by which it was to be carried out. It is interesting, besides, as showing what were his intentions, and stands prominently at the commencement of his journal. With his course shaped, the sails of his ship, the *Santa Maria*, well trimmed, and attended by his two consorts, the *Pinta* and *Niña*, the old seaman had now ample leisure to betake himself to his cabin and pen this serious document as an introduction to his voyage.

“Whereas, most Christian, most high, most excellent, and most powerful Princes, King and Queen of the Spains and Islands of the Sea, our Lords, after your Highnesses had, in this year, concluded the war with the Moors, who had reigned in Europe, terminating it in the magnificent city of Granada, wherein, on the 2nd day of January of this present year, I witnessed the royal banners of your Highnesses planted on the towers of the Alhambra (the great fortress of the city), and beheld the Moorish King march forth from the gates of that city and do homage to your Majesties and the Prince;—and where, as afterwards in the present month, from the information I had given to your Highnesses of the lands of India and of the Prince who is called the Great Khan, signifying in our romance King of Kings, how frequently he and his predecessors had sent to Rome to petition the learned Doctors of our holy faith to instruct him in it, and that the holy Father had not acceded to it, and that so many people were lost in idolatry, im-

bibing doctrines of perdition ;—your Highnesses, like Catholic Christians and Princes loving the Holy Christian Faith, as promoters of it and enemies of all the sect of Mahomed, and of all idolaters and heresies, have thought proper to send me, Christopher Columbus, to the said parts of India to see the said Prince, the cities and countries, and their situations, and consider the mode which may be adopted for their conversion to our holy faith ; and have ordered that I should not go by land to the East, but by a voyage to the West ; by which, to this day, it is not known for certain that any one has passed. Thus, after having banished all Jews from your kingdoms and seigniories, in the same month of January, your Highnesses commanded me to proceed with an expedition to the said ports of India ; for which great favours were conferred on me, and I was ennobled and thenceforward might style myself Don, and was promoted to be Great Admiral of the Ocean and Vice-Roy and perpetual Governor of all the islands and lands which I might discover and acquire, and which might be hereafter discovered and acquired in the ocean, and that my eldest son might succeed to my title, and so on from generation to generation for ever. And I departed from the city of Granada on Saturday the 12th day of the month of May of the same year, and came to the town of Palos (which is a seaport), where I equipped three vessels, well adapted for the enterprise, and departed from the same port, well supplied with provisions and seamen, on Friday the 3rd of August of the said year, half an hour before sunrise, and steered for the Canary Isles of your Highnesses, which are in the said ocean, to

take my course and navigate until I should arrive in the Indies and deliver the embassy of your Highnesses to those Princes, and perform your commands,—and for this purpose I determine on writing from day to day very punctually all that I may do and see and all that may pass before me. Likewise, my Sovereign Princes, besides describing every night what may have passed in the day and in the day how I shall sail in the night, I have determined to make a new chart, on which I shall mark down all the sea and lands of the ocean under their bearings, and, moreover, to form a book and describe them all by sketches, by latitude from the equator and longitude from the West (occidental), and above all in order that I may accomplish this that I may not sleep rather than not strive to navigate and succeed in this great undertaking.”

The Admiral (as he was now installed) thus concludes the letter by recording this determination to do his best, and his remarkable character justifies the conclusion that he kept his word. The chart which he constructed would have been a precious document in these days, and of great value to the Antiquarian as coming from the hand of Columbus. It has gone by, however, with the wreck of time, and there can be but little hope that it will ever come to light hereafter, even from the folio of some curious collection. Not that old charts are desirable; emblems of ignorance they undoubtedly are; but from the known ability of Columbus in drawing them—who had supported himself, as we have seen, by the sale of those which he made—all doubt and controversy about his first landfall might have been saved. This expertness would have secured something better

than the miserable production of *De la Cosa*, which has been found, and, in the hands of the learned Baron Humboldt, has assisted him in perpetuating the erroneous* conclusion hitherto adopted.

The little fleet had been scarcely three days at sea, when crossing the Gulf of Mules,† as it has been called by the Spaniards, the *Pinta* gave signs of weakness. It would seem as if her owners, out of humour with the state order under which she was supplied for the expedition, were heedless of her condition, and allowed the shipwrights of Palos to turn her out of hand in an improper manner for sea, to the great risk of the lives of those embarked in her! Indeed, not only did her rudder become displaced, but she proved so leaky that the Admiral made up his mind to exchange her for another if possible at the Canary Islands. By the following day the rudder was replaced, and the vessels made the best of their way to the Grand Canary Island, the principal one then in the possession of Spain, although not the largest of the group. The ships were in sight of these islands on the 9th of August, but did not reach the Grand Canary until the 12th, when Columbus, leaving the *Pinta* in the hands of her Commander, Martin Alonzo Pinzon, made sail for the Island of Gomera. Here he expected to meet with Doña Beatriz de Bobadilla; of whom he wished to buy a vessel of forty tons, in which this lady had recently arrived at the Grand Canary from Spain. After waiting two days in vain for her, the Admiral determined on returning to the Grand Canary; and, leav-

* Note II. Appendix.

† Note VIII.

ing some of his crew at Gomera, departed on the 23rd of August.* It was when he was making this passage that he witnessed the first eruption of Tenerife of which there is any authentic record. This took place on the night of the 23rd and on the 24th of August, 1492: on which occasion he says in his journal, in passing close to the island, "a great fire was seen issuing from the sierra of Isle Tenerife, which is very high." The record of this phenomenon is valuable in a general point of view, but particularly so in consequence of these events so seldom occurring at the Canaries. Another eruption of importance which happened in Tenerife was on the 5th of May, 1706, when the town of Garachica was destroyed; and the last which is known to have taken place in the islands occurred in Lanzarote in November, 1824.

Speaking of the island Gran Canaria, Captain Glas says,—“On the North-East end of Canaria is a peninsula about two leagues in circumference. The isthmus by which it is connected with the main island is about two miles in length, and a quarter of a mile in breadth at the narrowest part. On each side of this isthmus is a bay, which is exposed on the North-West side to the swell of the sea, and therefore an unfit road for shipping; but small barques get in between a ledge of rocks and the shore, and lie there smooth and secure from all winds and weather. Here the natives of the island repair their small vessels.”†

As this seems, by the survey of Captain Vidal‡ of these islands in 1836, to be the only place in the island

* Note III. Appendix.

† Note IV.

‡ Note V.

possessing these advantages, it was most probably the resort of the companion of Columbus for the repair of his vessel, the *Pinta*, where she was thoroughly set to rights, and her sails altered, a process which seems to have very much improved her sailing qualities. These repairs and alterations being complete, the vessels arrive at Gomera on the second of September, without hearing further of Doña Beatriz.

It is related that John de Betancourt, who made an easy conquest of Gomera about the year 1405*, was so well pleased both with the natives and the island itself, that he determined on passing the remainder of his days on it. In the sheltered anchorage afforded by the little bay on the North-East side of the island and secure from all winds but those from South-East, the ships of Columbus completed their stock of provisions, water, and fuel for the voyage. Besides belonging to his friend the Duke of Medina Celis, from whom he would obtain such supplies at an easy rate, the island was well adapted by its position as the starting point for his voyage. The anchorage at all times secure, if any surf prevented the boats from landing on the beach off the little town of Palmas, there is a cove formed by nature in the North-East angle of the bay which is so secure that small vessels may go through the process of repairing there. Abundance of excellent water is obtained from wells in the little town if the mountain streams fail.

Three more days were occupied in preparing the ships for sea, in embarking provisions, water, and vegetables

* Note VII. Appendix.

for the voyage, Columbus meanwhile being busy in his inquiries about a certain island which was reported to be seen to the West from the heights of Gomera. The existence of it was confirmed on oath by people of the island worthy of credit, and the Admiral alludes here to a similar report of an island seen to the West of Madeira by a person who had petitioned the King of Portugal, when he was at Lisbon, for a vessel to go to it. These islands were always seen at a particular time of the year, always in the same position and presenting the same appearance, and were believed to be real. The sameness of their appearance, as well as that of their position, went far to confirm the belief of their reality. The well known phenomenon of mirage is a branch of philosophy that was little understood in those days; but this very sameness of position as well as the recurrence of the picture at the same time of the year, indicate a sameness in the state and condition of the atmosphere that would correspond well with its repeated occurrence at that time from the effects of mirage.

These appearances were quite sufficient to keep up the belief both of the fabulous island of St. Borondon, supposed to be South-West from the Canaries, and that of Antilia, West of Madeira, notwithstanding the failure of all attempts to find them. Like the flying Dutchman, however, although distinctly visible to the mariner sometimes, they proved to be mere shadows; after enticing him many miles from his course, they were gone,—no longer to be seen; but still they were only considered to have eluded his search, and still retained their places on the chart. Two of these reported islands in the

South Atlantic Ocean kept their places on the chart down to the commencement of the present century. They were Isle St. Matthew and Isle Grande, arising from deceptive appearances presented by floating icebergs, and fogbanks, the positions of which, sufficiently changeable in themselves, were made more so by erroneous reckonings of ships that met with them. The former of these islands, however, disappeared from the chart soon after the discovery of America, when the western ocean became frequented; the latter even still disfigures certain charts in the hands of seamen. But with respect to deceptive appearances at sea, instances are common even in these days of the hulls of abandoned ships, sleeping whales, and the trunks of trees floating about the ocean, having been mistaken for islets or rocks above the surface, and being as often reported, find their way into some charts to the uneasiness of the seaman; while no such accounts are accepted by the careful hydrographer, unless verified by an appeal to the lead in fathoming the bank on which they must necessarily stand.

CHAPTER III.

COLUMBUS SAILS FOR THE DISCOVERY OF A WESTERN CONTINENT
—HIS ANXIETY ABOUT PORTUGUESE CARAVELS—DEFICIENCY
OF PORTRAITS OF THE SHIPS OF COLUMBUS—SUPERSTITIOUS
NOTIONS OF SEA DANGERS—FEARS OF THE CREW OF CO-
LUMBUS—THE VARIATION OF THE COMPASS—A FOUL WIND
IN THE TRADES—DISAPPOINTMENT OF THE CREW—BEAUTI-
FUL ADAPTATION OF PREVAILING WINDS FOR INTERCOURSE
BY NAVIGATION—A CONDENSED VIEW OF THE JOURNAL OF
COLUMBUS.

THE time had now arrived when it pleased the Almighty Disposer of all events to permit the veil of obscurity which concealed one half of our globe from the other to be removed;—when Columbus, who considered himself the servant of the King of kings in the hands of the Spanish Sovereigns, was to bear the Cross to millions of the race of Adam yet unknown, and by penetrating the “Sea of Darkness” which had hitherto been the mysterious and effectual barrier against discovery in the West, was to show that this sea was really the high road to a new world. The theory was his own, suggested in opposition to the Portuguese, who were then extending their discoveries to the South and East, having just reached the Cape of Good Hope; and it was now to undergo the test of experiment.

Having completed his store of provisions, water, and fuel, and reembarked his men whom he had left at

Gomera when he went to the Grand Canary, on the memorable 6th of September the ships spread their sails to the morning breeze, and departed from the bay of Gomera on their momentous voyage. Columbus having just learned that three Portuguese caravels were waiting at the little island of Hierro to intercept him, was somewhat uneasy, and anxious to effect his departure, taking the nearest route to the northward from the bay, which is on the North-East side of the island, so as to shape his westerly course. But from want of wind he made little progress, and the vessels lay becalmed during that and the two following days between Gomera and Tenerife.

Magellan, the first of the early navigators who showed the way into the Pacific Ocean, has been more fortunate than Columbus both with the historian and the poet. Even his ship, the *Victory*, which never returned to Europe, being lost among the Molucca Islands, has been pictorially represented, and her success celebrated in song; while to realize an illustration of the ships of Columbus has been the difficult task of the antiquary. Monsieur Jal,* in his interesting work entitled "*Archeologie Navale*," has thrown considerable light on this subject, although his conclusions seem to represent them larger than they really were. Happily in one portion of his journal, to which special allusion will be made hereafter, Columbus mentions every sail of his ship, from which, with the assistance of an old work of the century following that in which he made his voyage, the character of the vessels then in use has been inferred.

* Note IX. Appendix.

These, in the absence of any representation of the ships of Columbus, will serve to give some idea of what they were, and are added to the view of the bay of Gomera, from the pencil of Lieut. Church, who was employed with Capt. Vidal in the survey of the island. The subject, however, will mostly interest the nautical reader, as he can well appreciate the hardy daring of the ancient seamen who undertook voyages of extraordinary duration in vessels about the size of our common coasters.

A favourable breeze on the 8th of September at length put an end to the tedious delay of calm, and relieved the mind of Columbus by the non-appearance of the Portuguese vessels. But no sooner were the islands lost to view than the fears of the Admiral's crew induced them to alter the ship's course to the North-Eastward for Spain, with the object of arresting the voyage; so that we read in the journal of the Admiral that he "chided them for their pusillanimous fears." Considerable allowance may in fairness be made for them. Their uninformed minds were incapable of appreciating that theory which was the source of the Admiral's conclusions, the main spring of his actions; and their superstitious fears were aggravated by the absurd stories in vogue at the time. Senhor Macedo,* of Lisbon, has collected most of these stories, a few brief sentences from which will serve to show by what curiously absurd ideas the minds of these men might have been influenced.

"The ancients," he says, "had different opinions about the possibility of navigating the Atlantic Ocean.

* Note XI.

1. Seneca had taught that with a fair wind a very few days would be required to navigate it from Spain to India.

2. Others considered that the magnitude as well as the solidity of it would prevent the possibility of navigating it from Spain to India. Eratosthenes and Strabo were of the same opinion.

3. Others again looked on the ocean with a kind of sacred horror: for they believed that the sun at setting entered it, making a noise similar to that produced by a hot iron when it is plunged into water. This extraordinary idea is attributed by Cleomedes to the Iberians, and appears to be confirmed by Posidonius, who refers to it and combats the common belief that the sun became larger as it descended to the watery plains adjacent to Spain, and that the sea made a noise as if a red hot iron fell into it, as if the sun really became extinguished by falling into it. This opinion is similar to that of Epicurus, who held that the sun was extinguished at setting, and was lighted again at rising. Several others of the ancient authors are cited by him as having held similar opinions, and he adds, that these opinions were not confined to the Iberians, but were common on the shores of the German Ocean, the inhabitants of which, not content with supposing that they heard the noise of the sun sinking into the ocean similar to the wheels of a chariot, as Statius taught, actually believed they saw the forms of the horses of the chariot and the radiant glory of his head.

4. Others again, as Syclax, Plutarch, and Jornandez, believed that no ship could navigate the Atlantic on ac-

count of its shallowness and its muddy nature, and its growth of weed, all of which would combine to prevent it. Aristotle alludes to the muddy nature of the sea, besides its rocks ; and Theophrastus and the author of the work "*De Mirabilibus Auscultationibus*," allude to its being full of weeds and maritime plants.

5. Others considered the ocean was immoveable, and also impenetrable from its muddy nature or from want of wind, as supposed by Jornandez ; other causes too, such as the appearance of hideous monsters, portentous signs, extraordinary lights in the midst of obscurity, combining to render it difficult for any one to travel there, the stars failing the mariner as celestial guides, whilst terrestrial experiences of course were wanting. And others, from all or some of these opinions, formed a general idea of their own ; combining mud and shallows, immobility and darkness and want of wind, with multitudes of marine monsters to terrify seamen, supplying every absurdity which the imagination could devise to render the sea unnavigable in their opinion.

Thus was the Atlantic Ocean described in days of old. No "vestiges of creation" were better calculated to produce unfavourable impressions on men's minds than were these idle tales ; for which they were much indebted to the Arabs, who never were sailors ; and whether preserved whole or dealt out in fragments they were handed down from age to age, losing nothing of their absurdity by any lapse of time. The idea that the torrid zone could not be passed by ships by reason of its heat being so great that the seamen could not endure it, and that it would melt the pitch out of a vessel's sides,

had been proved wrong by the progress made by the Portuguese along the African coast. Still the Atlantic Ocean had been from time immemorial the 'Sea of Darkness,' and as seamen of every age are proverbially superstitious, the desire of those in the ship of Columbus to turn back as soon as the land was lost to view, with even the fragments of such stories as the foregoing in their heads, was very natural; more especially when added to them was the uncertainty of the length of the voyage and the ignorance of where it would lead them. The Admiral scolded them for their breach of discipline with all the ardour of an adventurer energetically bent on realizing his enterprise; but to the very end of the voyage, when matters became worse, he could not imbue their minds with his own views and feelings.

The first event, which tended to create real alarm, was the change in the direction of the compass,—the natural consequence of their progress to the West. The ingenuity of Columbus soon devised a plausible reason to account for this, in the fact that the pole star, by means of which it was detected, was not itself stationary, but described a circle round the pole of the world. This was enough. The Admiral displayed the knowledge for which he had full credit, and his crew were pacified, not being aware that although the star really does describe such a circle, equal in diameter to about six times that of the sun, it was by no means equal to the change observed in the direction of the needle. Still it was a fact, and served to quiet their apprehensions that the needle itself would forsake them if they proceeded to the West.

The circumstance is interesting, as being the first

discovery of the variation of the compass thus far, at least that it differed in different parts of the world.* Thus the needle of the compass, which had shown Easterly variation on the Eastern borders of the Atlantic, from whence the ships had come, was now discovered to have changed its direction to an entire point Westerly. This took place on the 17th of September, about a hundred leagues to the Westward of the meridian of the Azores, when the ships had been eleven days on their voyage.

On the 22nd another circumstance occurred of great service to Columbus in quieting the fears of his crew as they perceived day after day that they were increasing their distance from home. They had remarked that the wind was always from the North-Eastward, and therefore was unfavourable for their return. But the wind had now come from the West; on which the Admiral observes in his Journal, "Much this contrary wind was wanted, for my people were becoming very anxious, believing that the wind in this sea was never favourable for returning to Spain."

These, however, were but the portentous signs of that feverish anxiety of the crew of the *Santa Maria* which, as Columbus continued to the Westward increasing his distance from Spain, was manifested more openly, and by the time he had approached his Landfall had thrown aside reserve, and threatened even the life of the Admiral; for they regarded him in the light of an adventurer, who had not hesitated to sacrifice their lives for the purpose of endeavouring to realize his fanciful notions about

* Note X. Appendix.

going to India by the West. If it had been the fate of the ships to contend against foul winds on this tedious passage, this would in all probability have taken place, and none would have ever returned to Spain. But happily they had merely to run before the wind, down the trades, (as they are termed by seamen,) to perform their voyage; and thus was the discovery of the trade wind made,—one of those admirable provisions of an all-wise Providence, which has adapted the conditions of our globe even to the course of the wind; thus meeting the wants of its inhabitants by a ready means of intercommunication by sea! The torrid zone facilitates the navigator's progress to the West by the wind blowing always from East; while in the two temperate zones the winds are variable, but distinguished by their prevalent course towards the East, inclining it may be towards the poles, but serving to expedite that regular communication across the sea that is so important to navigation. The regular recurrence of the monsoons at fixed periods of the year,—and the healthy effects of tides and hurricanes, in keeping up, with the foregoing, a perpetual interchange of place in the waters of our globe, as well as in the atmosphere which contributes to life,—all these wonderful phenomena are no less essential to navigation, and fill the mind of the reflecting individual with admiration of the works of a wise and benevolent Creator. Well might "the sweet psalmist of Israel" say, when revelling in admiration of those wondrous works, which were known to him in his early day, "Oh! that men would therefore praise the Lord for his goodness and declare the wonders that he doeth for the children of men." The poet, lost in admi-

ration of the stupendous works of the Creator on contemplating the magnificence of the heavenly bodies, exclaims in raptures, "an undevout astronomer is mad." He finds his proof beyond the skies, in "the harmony of the spheres," amidst the splendid spectacle presented by other worlds. And who is he when after contemplating the wonders presented by any branch of Natural History, the name by which the works of the same Creator are designated in our own globe, whether they belong to the land or the sea, whether of tidal phenomena or those presented by that subtle fluid of the atmosphere which we breathe, and which, in its progress over the surface of the globe, is termed wind,—who is he that will not join in the praises of the poet of Israel? impressed with his own comparative insignificance, and grateful to his Creator for that he is "what he is," will not say with him, "Great are the wondrous works which thou hast done!"

It will conduce to perspicuity, and will perhaps be more in keeping with the purpose before us if instead of giving a detailed narrative of the voyage, a synopsis of it be merely stated. The following therefore, something in the form of the journals kept on board Government ships in days long gone by, has been drawn up from that condensed account of the Journal of Columbus given by the late Spanish hydrographer Señor Navarrete. It is merely intended to show at a glance the courses and distances run by Columbus in his voyage across the Atlantic Ocean, that, with the notes in the Remark column, are contained in the Journal.

NOTES OF THE JOURNAL OF COLUMBUS
ON HIS FIRST VOYAGE ACROSS THE ATLANTIC OCEAN.

In the year 1492.

Week Day.	Month Day.	Course.	Dist. run.	REMARKS.
	Sept.			
Th.	6			Left Gomera. Lying becalmed between this island and Tenerife.
Fr.	7			
Sa.	8	West.	9	Breeze from N.E. A head sea delayed progress.
Su.	9	West.	45	Ship yawed off her course to N.E. by helmsman, with whom the Admiral had repeatedly to find fault.
Mo.	10	West.	60	Two reckonings kept.
Tu.	11	West.	40	A portion of a mast seen that belonged to a vessel of 120 tons.
We.	12	West.	33	Due South of the Isle St. Mary.
Th.	13	West	33	A current from the Westward observed. On the evening of this day the needles of the compasses showed Westerly variation, and on the following it was observed to be greater.
Fr.	14	West.	20	The crew of the <i>Niña</i> saw a heron and a tropic bird, which birds were considered good omens of land, as they never fly further than 25 miles from it.
Sa.	15	West.	26	This evening a brilliant meteor was seen to fall into the sea, about four or five leagues from the ships.
Su.	16	West.	39	Drizzling showers. The atmosphere balmy and serene; the song of birds only wanted to render it like the month of April in Andalusia. Weeds met with, which appearing fresh

Week Day.	Month Day.	Course.	Dist. run.	REMARKS.
Mo.	17	West.	55	occasioned the belief that the ships were approaching some island, but not <i>terra firma</i> . Westerly current observed. More weed met, which appeared to come from West. More hopes of land. Pilots found compasses to have more than a point Westerly variation. A living crab found in the weed. The sea water considered to be less salt. Several tominas seen; one killed by the <i>Niña</i> . A tropic bird seen.
Tu.	18	West.	55	Sea smooth. Many birds seen making to Westward. Appearance of bad weather to the Northward.
We.	19	West.	25	Intervals of calm. At 10h. a pelican alighted on the Admiral's ship, and another in the evening; birds which do not fly twenty leagues from land. Some rain showers. Islands supposed to be near. Ships kept their course without looking for them. This being left for the return voyage. Pilots produced their reckonings:— <i>Niña</i> , 440 leagues fr. Canaries <i>Pinta</i> , 420 Adml. 400 exact,—considered right.
Th.	20	W.b.N.	8	Two or three land birds came singing to the ship at daylight from W.N.W., and afterwards disappeared. Then a pelican. Considered these as signs of

Week Day.	Month Day.	Course.	Dist. run.	REMARKS.
Fr.	21	W.N.W.	13	land. Light winds. Calm. Much weed seen. A bird taken by hand, considered to be a river bird, the feet being like those of the gull.
Sa.	22	W.N.W.	30	Much calm. Very little wind. Large collections of weed from the West. A pelican seen. Sea as smooth as a river and air delicious. A whale seen, considered a sign of land.
Su.	23	N.W. W.N.W. West.	22	Little weed seen. Some Pardeles and another bird seen. A contrary wind occasions the remark, "Very necessary this was, for the crew believing the wind was always East in these parts and would prevent their return to Spain, had become very mutinous." A short interval without weed, but afterwards abundance of it.
				A turtle seen, also a pelican; another river bird and other white birds. Weed plentiful and crabs found in it. Sea smooth and still. Crew murmured, complaining there was no wave and they should never return. Afterwards the sea rose considerably without wind, at which they were terrified. The Admiral observes, "The high sea was essential to me, which had not been seen before, except when the Egyptians pursued the Jews when Moses delivered them from captivity."

Week Day.	Month Day.	Course.	Dist. run.	REMARKS.
Mo.	24	West.	14 $\frac{1}{2}$	A pelican flew to the ship and also many pardeles.
Tu.	25	West. S.W.	4 $\frac{1}{2}$ 17	Much calm in the course of the day. Crews bathed. Martin Alonzo Pinzon conferred with the Admiral on the chart (received by him from Toscanelli) in which islands were laid down, as the ships were then in their neighbourhood and had been for three days, in which the Admiral agreed; but as the ships had not seen them, it was considered they had been drifted to the northward of them by currents. At sunset Martin Alonzo Pinzon mounted the poop of the <i>Pinta</i> , and shouted land to the Admiral, claiming the reward; on which they fell on their knees and Pinzon repeated the <i>Gloria in excelsis</i> . The crew of the Admiral did the same, and those of the <i>Niña</i> mounted the mast and rigging, and the Admiral and all agreed it was land about 25 leagues distant. The Admiral directed the course to be altered to S.W. for it.
We.	26	West. S.W.	15 16	About noon the course was altered to S.W. for the land, which proved to be clouds. The sea was like a mirror, the air fresh and balmy.
Th.	27	West.	24	Many fish about, one of which was killed: a tropic bird seen.
Fr.	28	West.	14	Met with but little weed. Two fish taken.

Week Day.	Month Day.	Course.	Dist. run.	REMARKS.
Sa.	29	West.	24	A bird seen, called the Tropic Bird, which makes the gannet disgorge its food and then devours it, subsisting on nothing else. It is a sea bird, but does not repose on the water, nor leave the coast beyond twenty leagues. Many of them seen about the Cape Verd Islands. Other gannets seen. The air very delightful and pleasant; the sea smooth like a river, but with much weed.
Su.	30	West.	14	Four tropic birds flew to the ships, considered a good sign of land by so many of them being together. Four gannets seen at the same time, and much weed. The Admiral observes that the stars called the Guards (Pointers) at nightfall are in line to the West, and at daylight are to the N.E. Also at the same time the compass needle varies a point Westerly, and at daylight points to the star, by which it appears that the star has motion like the rest, as the needle is always correct.
Mo.	1 Oct.	West.	25	A heavy shower of rain. The Admiral compares reckoning with his pilot, by which it appears,—Pilot was 580 leagues from Hierro. Admiral acknowledged 584; but his private reckoning was 707.
Tu.	2	West.	39	The sea continued to be smooth,

Week Day.	Month Day.	Course.	Dist. run.	REMARKS.
We.	3	West.	47	thanks to the Lord! Much weed from Eastward to West, contrary to former. Many fish seen; one killed. A white bird seen, which appeared to be a gull. Some pardeles seen. Much weed about, some very old and some fresh with berries. No birds. Admiral considered the ships were to Westward of islands marked in the chart; but it was proper to go on rather than to lose time looking for them, the object being to go to India, and it was bad policy to stop.
Th.	4	West.	73	More than 40 pardeles seen about the ship and two gannets. A pelican and a white bird like a gull.
Fr.	5	West.	57	The sea continues smooth, thanks be to the Lord! the air delicious and temperate. No wind, many pardeles, and abundance of flying-fish leaping on board.
Sa.	6	West.	40	Martin Alonzo Pinzon proposes to alter course to S.W. Admiral was of opinion that he did not care about Cipango, and that if this was missed land would not be seen so soon and that it was better to discover <i>terra firma</i> first and islands afterwards.
Su.	7	W.S.W.	28	The <i>Niña</i> being ahead of the Admiral, made signal for land by a flag and firing a lombard, as previously determined. It was customary always for the ships

Week Day.	Month Day.	Course.	Dist. run.	REMARKS.
Mo.	8	W.S.W.	12	to close with each other at sunset and sunrise. On this report the Admiral agreed to steer W.S.W. for two days.
				The sea like the river at Seville, thanks to the Lord! The air delicious, like that of Seville in April, that it is delightful to enjoy it, so fragrant is it. Weeds appear fresh. Many land birds about: grajaos, ducks, and a gannet.
Tu.	9	S.W.	5	Many birds heard about the ships all night. [Note XI. a.]
		W.b.N.	4	
		W.S.W.	20½	
We.	10	W.S.W.	59	The crew, no longer restraining themselves, become turbulent and mutinous, and complain loudly of the length of the voyage. The Admiral endeavours to satisfy them and encourage them with prospect of reward, alluding to the great advantages that would arise from discovering land. At any rate they might complain. He had come to discover India and he should persevere till he found it, with the help of the Lord.
Th.	11	W.S.W.	27	The sea higher than it had been during the whole voyage. Pardeles seen, and a green branch. The <i>Pinta</i> saw a cane and piece of wood, and they took on board a small carved stick, appearing to have been done with iron; and a piece of cane and some weed that belonged to the shore.

Week Day.	Month Day.	Course.	Dist. run.	REMARKS.
				<p>The <i>Niña</i> found also other signs of land, and a small branch of bramble. These signs of land occasioned much joy, and every one seemed to breathe more freely and take fresh courage. The <i>Pinta</i> being the fastest vessel was ahead of the Admiral, and discovering the land made the signal agreed on, which was, hoisting a flag and firing a lombard. It was first seen by a seaman named Rodrigo de Triana, for the Admiral at 10h. being on the poop of his ship saw a light, although he could not assert he saw land; but he called Pedro Gutierrez and told him he thought he saw a light, and to look at it, and he saw it. He also told Rodrigo Sanchez de Segovia to do the same, but he could not see it. The Admiral again saw it once or twice, and it appeared in motion and like that of a taper. The Admiral considered for certain that they were close to the land, and therefore when they had repeated the <i>Salve</i>, according to custom, he admonished his men to keep a good look out from the forecastle, and look well for the land; adding, that he who first should discover it would be rewarded with a silk doublet besides receiving the reward of the Sov-</p>

Week Day.	Month Day.	Course.	Dist. run.	REMARKS.
Fr.	12			ereigns, which consisted of ten thousand maravedis. At two of the following morning land was distinctly seen about two leagues distant. The ships immediately shortened sail and lay by under the mainsail without the two bonnets, and awaited daylight, when it was discovered that they had arrived at an island of the Lucayos, which the natives called by the name of Guanahani. At daylight, naked people were

seen from the ships, and the Admiral went on shore along with Martin Alonzo Pinzon and Yañez his brother, Commander of the Niña,—each in their boats armed. The Admiral's boat carried the royal standard, and the Captains had each a flag, in the field of which was a green cross and the letters F and Y, a crown being worked over each letter and the cross being between them; this flag being always carried by the Admiral afterwards. Having landed, they observed fine flourishing trees, much water, and different sorts of fruit. The Admiral summoned to him the two Captains and the others who had landed with them—Rodrigo Descovedo, the Secretary to the squadron, and Rodrigo Sanchez de Segovia—and desired them to bear witness that his first act was to take formal possession of the island for the King and Queen, going through the necessary formalities, which are detailed in the journals preserved.

Señor Navarrete adds to the above notes which he has

made of the proceedings of the Admiral the following observation, from which we are introduced to the Admiral's own account of his proceedings.

“Many people of the island were speedily collected about them and the following words of the Admiral appear in his book of his first voyage and discovery of these islands.”

Thus did Columbus make his Landfall in America; thus was the knowledge of the New World, as it was called, given to the inhabitants of the old one. But what island this really was that now lay before him is the question that has remained from that time to the present for solution.

It is well known that in determining such a question no dependance can be placed on the reckoning, and therefore no reference is now made to it; although it is curious that the distance actually run by the ships, with a trifling addition for the effect of current, is very nearly the actual distance of the island here identified as Guanahani from the Canaries. The most convenient mode of now treating the subject will perhaps be to follow the Admiral's Journal, or as much of the abstract that has been made of it as necessary, by under-running it in the same page with that commentary or explanation necessary to point out where he really is, and thus to accompany the ships on their track with the chart on which it is laid down until they arrive at Cuba. The reader will kindly submit for a while to the inconvenience of a short page.

CHAPTER IV.

THE JOURNAL OF COLUMBUS AMONG THE
LUCAYOS ISLANDS.*

FIRST IMPRESSIONS OF THE PEOPLE OF GUANAHANI—NATIVE MANNERS, NATIVE WARS, AND NATIVE SIMPLICITY—THEIR PACIFIC CHARACTER—INTENTIONS OF KIDNAPPING SIX—EXPERTNESS IN THE WATER—PECULIAR FEATURES AND NATURE OF THE ISLAND—COTTON OBTAINED IN TRADE—THE BOAT EXPEDITION—PERTINACITY OF THE NATIVES—CORAL BELT ROUND THE ISLAND—LEAVES GUANAHANI FOR THE LARGEST ISLAND IN VIEW.

COMMENTARY INDICATING THE LANDFALL.

IN order to secure their friendship, for I saw that they were people to be converted to our faith by kindness rather than force, I gave them some red caps, and hung some glass beads round their necks, and several other things of trifling value, with which they were much pleased—indeed it was interesting to see how they were won by them.

They afterwards swam out to our boats, bringing parrots and balls of cotton thread, with spears and several other things; all of which they exchanged for whatever we chose to give them, such as glass beads and hawk's bells. In fact, we traded together most amicably. But they appeared to be a very poor race of

* Note XII.

people, deficient in many things. They go about naked as they were born, the women also, although I did not see more than one young one. Indeed every one that I saw was young: every one appeared to be under thirty years of age, well proportioned, and good-looking. The hair of some was thick and long like the tail of a horse, in some it was short and brought forward over the eyebrows, some wearing it long and never cutting it. Some, again, are painted, and the hue of their skin is similar in colour to the people of the Canaries—neither black nor white. Some are painted white and some red, or any other colour; some paint only their faces and others their whole person, and some only their eyes and noses.

They have no weapons and appear to know of none, for I showed them swords and they took them by the

COMMENTARY ON THE JOURNAL.

IN following Columbus in his progress of discovery, as related above by himself, it is now the business of the author to trace him by his description from one island to another, so as to show by the harmony between this description and the chart, the several islands which he visited; and first that at which he had now arrived.

The *light* which had been seen *with difficulty* affords no proof of a useful kind, being very possibly one of those meteors commonly known to seamen; it must not, therefore, beguile us from the more solid and tangible information supplied by the Admiral's journal. This important document, sometimes in the shape of mere

blade, and cut themselves from sheer ignorance. They have no iron. Their spears are lengthy and instead of iron are pointed with the tooth of a fish or such hard substance. Some I saw who showed marks of wounds in their persons, and on our making signs to ascertain what they were, they made us understand that people from other neighbouring islands would come to carry them off prisoners, and that these were the marks of wounds received in their own defence from them. And I do believe that people from the mainland come and carry them off.

They would make good intelligent servants, for I

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notes and sometimes in that of letters, although containing little, yet important, matter of real use to the purpose before us, is here given as it stands, in a fair and liberal translation, so that no garbled extracts may appear to be made available. The account of the dealings with the natives will here and there predominate, but not without interest; for while it will serve indirectly to substantiate the Landfall, it will also give a faithful picture of what was passing in the mind of the Admiral.

It may now be briefly stated that the island at which the ships had arrived was decided by Navarrete to be that called Turks Island, an island about five miles long and two broad. Señor Muñoz considered it to be that called Watling Island, which is fourteen miles long and six broad; a conclusion correct in itself, but certainly not justified by the view which he took of his subsequent

found that they soon learnt what was said to them. And I think also that they would soon make good Christians, for they have no religion now at all. It is my intention, if it please the Lord, at my departure hence, to take with me six of them for your Highnesses, that they may learn our language. No animals of any kind have I seen in the island, and nothing but parrots.

Saturday, October 13th.—As soon as the day broke many of these men—all young persons, as I have said before, and of good stature, and withal handsome—came to the shore. The hair of these Indians is not crisp or woolly, but long and strong like that of a horse's tail. In all, the forehead is wide, more so indeed than any people I have yet seen. They have large handsome

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discoveries. It has been entirely disregarded. Mr. Washington Irving, unwilling, as he says, "to disturb the ancient landmarks," was content to assert that the Landfall was Cat Island;—a considerable island to which the name of San Salvador had been already given by general assent. This view has also been supported by the opinion of the learned Baron Alexander Von Humboldt, of world wide celebrity in scientific research, who has stamped his *fat** on Washington Irving's conclusion. But with what regard to the description left by Columbus these decisions have been given, when, first, there are three hundred miles of space between

* Note XIII. Appendix.

eyes, and are not black but of the colour of the natives of the Canaries, as might be expected since they are due West from the Island of Hierro,* one of that group. They are all well made—even to their hands, not pot-bellied but exceedingly well formed.

They came to the ship in canoes formed from the trunk of a tree, as long as a boat, and all from one log, curiously worked after their own fashion, and large enough to carry forty or fifty persons: others they have less, sufficient only to contain one person. They are

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them, and, secondly, a totally opposite character of natural feature, will soon appear.

Here, then, at the threshold of our inquiry as to which of these decisions is really the right one, the subject has assumed the character of a controversy. Thus Señor Navarrete is charged with precipitancy in his conclusion by the learned Baron,† who brings forward an old chart coeval with the time of Columbus to support the views of Washington Irving; this gentleman having really adopted a course of reasoning begun, continued, and ended in error: the opinion of Señor Muñoz being, apparently, unworthy of his notice. Señor Navarrete has by no means been hasty in his conclusion; most leisurely (*detenidamente*‡ is his expression) has he arrived at it, misled as he was. Yet, singularly enough, he has printed the lines which refute his own decision,

* Note XIV. Appendix. † Note XV. ‡ Note XVI.

propelled by a paddle shaped like a baker's shovel, and glide about rapidly. They overturn them and right them again when in the water, emptying them with calabashes which they have always with them. They bring balls of cotton thread and other things too numerous to mention, and would exchange them for anything in return. I watched them very narrowly to discover if they had any gold, but could only see that some had a little piece hanging from the nose. I was enabled to understand from them by signs that there is a King to the South who has large vessels full of it. I endeavoured to persuade them to go there with me, but I soon found they had no kind of inclination to do so.

I determined to wait until to-morrow evening, and

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and which lines seem to have been either too tedious for his close perusal or beneath the notice of every one near him. The course which will be followed here, happily for the reader, will soon liberate him from this controversy; but it will be necessary to look well over the grounds of these decisions, in order to see how they correspond with the facts mentioned by Columbus.

Washington Irving, in support of Cat Island as being the Landfall, quotes the account of it given by Columbus in these words:—"He describes it," he says, "as being a beautiful island, and very large; as being level and covered with forests, many of the trees of which bore fruit; as having abundance of fresh water, and a large lake in the centre; that it was inhabited by a nu-

then to proceed to the South-West; for, according to many of them, there is land to the South and South-West, and people from the Northward come and attack them very often and thence go to the South-West in search of gold and precious stones. This is a tolerably large island, very level, with fine trees and plenty of water, and a large lake in the middle of it, without mountain and all covered with verdure, which is pleasing to the eye.

These people are very amiable and desirous of having our things, for when they have nothing to give us for

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merous population, and that he proceeded for a considerable distance in his boats along the shore, which tended (? trended) to the N.N.E., and as he passed was visited by the inhabitants of several villages. Turks Island," he concludes, "does not answer to this description."* Admitting fully that it does not, let us ask in our turn, How does Cat Island agree with it? Certainly the expression "very large," which may serve for Cat Island, must be modified. Columbus says *bien grande*,† which by a liberal translation might be rendered "tolerably large," *muy grande* would have been "very large." Again, although Columbus finds abundance of water, where does it appear that this is *fresh* water? There is *prima facie* reason here for supposing it to have been brackish and unfit for use, or why do we not

* Note XVII. Appendix.

† Note XVIII.

find them they take what they can and jump into the sea, and swim off with it. But anything they have they give us readily for whatever we will exchange for it. They will even barter for broken pieces of crockery and glass. I have seen sixteen balls of cotton thread given for three Portuguese ceotes, (our Castile blanca,) and these would make more than an aroba of cotton. I intend preserving this and shall allow no one to have it, but shall direct it to be taken care of for your Highness: it may perhaps be found in quantity. It is found

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the Admiral watering his ships with it? They must have been in great need of this article after their long voyage, as we find him searching for it immediately afterwards. Doubtless there was abundance of water and further a large lake [there was also] in the middle of the island, but the water of it was unfit for use even by the natives, who are obliged to get what they want as well as they can from tanks or wells;* and this fact applies both to Turks and Watling Islands, but not to Cat Island.

Then, considering the light seen by the Admiral to be somewhere about the shore of Watling Island, Washington Irving believes that the ships continued on their course until they arrived at Cat Island, and, "Exploring its coast where it ran to the N.N.E. that they found a harbour capable of sheltering any number of ships, into which they were 'drifted.' This description," he

* Note XIX. Appendix.

in this island, but from the little time we have been here we cannot depend on all that is said. The gold is also found here which they hang to the nose. But, in order not to lose time, I wish to go and see if I can discover this Cipango. Now that it is dark all are gone ashore in their canoes.

Sunday, October 14th.—At daylight, I ordered the ship's boat and the two boats of the caravels to be got

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then says, "corresponds immediately with the South-East part of the island known as San Salvador or Cat Island, which lies East and West, bending at its Eastern end to the N.N.E."* But the course Columbus was steering (which in those days would have become Southward of S.W.b.S. by the variation)† would not have taken him to Cat Island from a position two leagues from Watling Island, and, moreover, the above interpretation of terms to suit the adoption of Cat Island by Washington Irving is by no means felicitous, for it does not quite correspond with what the Admiral said of his Landfall; and the few words which he did say are very clear and explicit.

Columbus having gone through the formalities of taking possession of the island, and seen the natives, among whom, by the way, there was but one woman where he landed, was desirous of seeing the other side of it. Therefore, availing himself of the early (*al a-*

* Note XX. Appendix.

Note XXI.

ready, and I went along the shore of the island to the N.N.E., to see what there was on the opposite side of it, and also the villages. And I soon saw two or three and their people, who came running to the shore calling loudly to us,—some bringing water, others something to eat; and some when they saw I had no intention of landing rushed into the sea and swam out to us, and we

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manecer) morning's calm, he proceeds there in his boat along the shore of the island by the N.N.E.; and he soon finds, as he says, two or three settlements and had further communication with the natives. He describes the effect which his sudden appearance among them produced, and alludes to the still water between the shore of the island and the belt of coral which surrounds it at a short distance, leaving a harbour between them sufficient to contain all the ships of Christendom; having a narrow entrance here and there, left by the continuity of the coral belt being broken. He speaks of the coral heads inside of this harbour, and a piece of land for a fort. But his reconnaissance was short, for time was precious. He had reached the confines of a new world: he had seen sufficient of this island—the first proof he had found of it—to satisfy his curiosity, and in the afternoon of the second day after his arrival he regained his ship to follow up his discoveries.

Now it is not possible that the boats could have gained the opposite side of the island by passing to the Northward from the Eastern side of it without going round its

understood them to ask us if we had come from the skies. One old man even got into the boat, and others, men and women, called out at the top of their voices, "Come and see the men who are come from the skies: bring them something to eat and drink." Many of

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Northern shore. And what else can be concluded from the words recorded by Columbus than that he really did so? Then, again, as Cat Island is forty-five miles long, the boats could not have gone round it in the short time which this occupied them. But the first serious difficulty regarding the course above-mentioned is entirely lost sight of in the adoption of Cat Island; and the next seems to be tacitly admitted by Washington Irving, who keeps the Admiral entirely to the Southern shore of this island, and even finds a harbour there to correspond with that described by him on the South-East side of it.

Here, then, is a deliberate disregard of the description given by Columbus in his journal of his first discovery—the very source which affords us the only certain means of identifying that discovery; and which discovery is his first and most important in this inquiry as being his Landfall. Indeed, it may be safely asserted that no where does it appear in this journal that the ships or the boats were ever on the South or South-East side of Guanahani, and therefore that it was never seen by Columbus.

The foregoing supplies evidence sufficient to show that

them, men and women, every one bringing something, called out, "*Dando gracias a Dios*,"* throwing themselves on the ground and shouting out to us to come on shore. But I was afraid to land, seeing an extensive reef of rocks which surrounded the island, with deep water

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Cat Island could not have been the Landfall of Columbus, according to his journal. And yet it is not only strenuously maintained as such by Washington Irving, but he is supported in this opinion by no less an authority than that of Baron Humboldt, who, in allusion to the doubts as to whether Washington Irving or Navarrete is right, says, "These doubts have too general an interest in historical geography not to be conscientiously examined here. This duty, indeed, becomes the more imperative since the hypothesis of M. Navarrete, that identifies one of the Turks Islands as Guanahani, to the Northward of San Domingo, has been adopted too hastily;—and since a document entirely unknown, the chart of Juan de la Cosa of 1500, the great importance of which was discovered in 1832 by M. Valkenaer and myself, adds fresh weight to the objections against it of M. Washington Irving in his *Life of Columbus*."

"One may say," continues the Baron, "that in the extension of European civilization, the pleasing recollections of our infancy recall to mind the impressions which were produced on first reading the discovery of

* Note XXII. Appendix.

between them and the shore, forming a harbour large enough to hold all the ships of Christendom, but with a very narrow entrance. Nevertheless, within this belt of rocks there are several single sunken rocks; but the water in it is as still as it is in a well.

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Guanahani. Those moving lights which in the darkness of night were pointed out by the Admiral to Pedro Gutierrez; that sandy beach, lighted by the moon, seen by Juan Rodriguez Bermejo forcibly recur to the mind. The very names and Christian names of the seamen, who stated they first saw a portion of the new world, are still fresh in our memory, and we should be compelled to leave our reminiscences unattached to a specific place, and to consider the actual locality of the scene as vague and uncertain.

“Happily, I am enabled to put an end to this state of uncertainty by means of a geographical document, as ancient as it is unknown; a document which irrevocably confirms the result of the arguments that M. Washington Irving brings forward in his work against the hypothesis of Turks Island. An American naval officer, from his own knowledge of the localities of Cat Island and Turks Island, has already shown how little the appearance and position of the latter correspond with the description which Columbus has given of Guahani or San Salvador.”*

* Note XXIII. Appendix.

And in order to make this inspection I moved this morning, for I wished to give your Highnesses an account of it and also where forts could be constructed. And I saw a piece of land like an islet, although it is not one, on which there are six houses ; which might be at-

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The learned Baron then discusses at some considerable length the claims of the two advocates of Turks Island and its opponent Cat Island, deciding in favour of the latter. It is, however, somewhat satisfactory to find him recognizing thus the description of Guanahani by Columbus. Did he ever apply that description in comparison with the general character of Cat Island? Was he aware that Columbus by his northerly course in the boats must inevitably have passed round the Northern end of it ; that he alludes to the harbour as being formed by a belt of rocks round the island, and not at the South-East end of it, as asserted by Washington Irving ;—which end there is no proof in his journal that Columbus in reality ever saw ; and, waiving the question of size as being one of relative comparison and indefinite, as well as that of trees bearing fruit as being equally indefinite and applicable to either, can he say that the middle (not centre) of Cat Island is occupied by a large lake, and that it is a level island without mountain? Can the learned arbitrator show these things? Really as he cannot do so, the haste which he has attributed to Navarrete must be applied to himself, notwithstanding all the assistance he has derived from that invaluable

tacked in two days by the islet, although I do not see that it would be necessary, for these people are very ignorant of weapons, as your Highnesses will see by seven which I have taken on board to bring home and be taught our language and return, unless your Highnesses

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document which he has found in De la Cosa's chart. While the learned Baron has been proving Señor Navarrete to be wrong, he, surely has been too hasty in adopting the rotten theory of his opponent, which not all the erudition of the author of *Cosmos* will enable him to support against the short and simple tale of Columbus, as given in his journal quoted above.

Navarrete was undoubtedly wrong. Very properly taking his own view of the subject, he was misled by the supposititious Westerly course which he fancied the Admiral always adopted, but which he certainly did not. But by this it became necessary to select an island sufficiently far to the Eastward to enable him to do so before arriving at Cuba, and that called the Grand Turk, or generally Turks Island, came nearest, both in position and description, to his purpose.

But all this is answered by Watling Island. Both the position and the description of this island answers every requisition of the journal. As to the abundance of water: Columbus has been *supposed* to have meant that it was fresh, for he does not say that it was so in his journal. The *muchas aguas* he mentions may have been fresh, brackish, salt, or even rain water. There is.

should please to direct that they all be taken to Castile or be kept in the island as captives; for with fifty men they may be captured and be made to do whatever we please.

And again close to the said islet are gardens of the

Commentary.

nothing to show that it was really fresh, but there are good reasons for believing it was not so; first, from the natives bringing him water to his boats when on the Western side of the island; and again from his looking for it at the first of the other islands which he visited. Had he watered his ships, or had he not been inquiring for it of the natives, they would scarcely thus have brought it to him when he appeared with his boats on the West side of the island. Abundance of water was no doubt found by him at Guanahani, but whether salt or fresh does not appear; and in every other particular Watling Island agrees with the general character of Guanahani as recorded by Columbus.

There appears above to be sufficient reason for inferring that Columbus passed in his boat by one of the channels through the belt of coral into the harbour which it forms with the shore of the island, as he speaks of the rocky heads in it (coral rock, so well known to our West Indian cruisers, they must have been) and says that he examined it. And, having concluded his reconnaissance as to capacity for defence, as well as for a harbour, he leaves it and regains his ship.

Now, the Admiral says above that he *moved* early in

most beautiful trees I have ever seen, and so fresh that their leaves are like those of Castile in April and May ; and abundance of water. I examined that harbour and afterwards returned to the ship and made sail. And I saw so many islands that I could not decide as to which

Commentary.

the morning in order to make this reconnaissance, and it might seem from the expression that this might also apply to the ships in the way of orders to follow the boats. But he returns on board and makes sail, shaping his course, as we shall see, to the South-West from the Western side of the island, and not to the South-East, as supposed by Washington Irving.

There is no necessity to look for further evidence than is seen in the foregoing to prove that Cat Island was not the Guanahani found by Columbus. Its entire character, and the fact of the Admiral having passed round the *North* end of the island, all render it impossible ; and, setting aside any claims of Turks Island to the same effect, for reasons which will be more evident as we proceed, on comparing the features of Watling Island with the brief, but clear and definite terms, in the Journal, it entirely agrees with them as far as they go. The principal features are its size and the large lake in it. It is not mountainous ; it is surrounded by a coral belt ; and it is so verdant generally as to have been long known as the " Garden of the Bahamas ; " which, cultivated, as it appears to have been even in the time of Columbus, would doubtless present that prospect " pleasing to the

I should first go. The natives which I had taken on board made signs that they were innumerable, naming above a hundred. So I looked out for the largest and determined to steer for that, *as I am now doing*.* From this to San Salvador will be about five leagues, more or

Commentary.

eye" mentioned by the Admiral. Here, then, is ample reason (besides what will follow) for dismissing Turks Island and Cat Island, and adopting Watling Island as being the Guanahani of Columbus, the soil of which was the first American ground trodden by the great navigator, and which, with that fervour of character and high religious feeling that marked the man, "in gratitude," as he says, "to that Almighty Power which had so miraculously bestowed on him this discovery," he named San Salvador.

How complete must now have been the triumph of Columbus as he was thus leaving his first discovery, and would behold it, the object of all his solicitude, receding gradually from him;—for which he had endured in Spain the taunts and jeers of the multitude, and in his ship the threats of a mutinous crew. It was but a "moderate" sized island, but it was a certain pledge, as he now saw, that more were at hand, to which he was leading his adventurous little fleet. How different must have been his feelings from those of that deep anxiety which had oppressed him but a day or

* Note XXIV. Appendix.

less. They all appear to be even, not mountainous, and very fertile. They are inhabited and they make war on each other; and yet these people are a simple-minded but handsomely formed race.

Commentary.

two before. His crew, who but as yesterday were almost maddened by despair, considering him as the cause of their desperate condition, had been ready to sacrifice him to their revenge, would now be on the alert, anxious to obey the orders of their chief. Only a day or two ago their expressions of disappointment and distrust had been loud and menacing; to-day they are forgotten and have given way to the bustle of duty. The glance of anger was gone, the smile of satisfaction was beaming from every countenance in admiration of their noble-minded Chief, whose superior intelligence had promised and gained success.

CHAPTER V.

THE JOURNAL OF COLUMBUS CONTINUED.

COLUMBUS MAKES SAIL FOR THE NEXT ISLAND—ON REACHING IT, DISCOVERS A LARGER IN THE WEST, AND CROWDS SAIL FOR IT—ENCOURAGED BY ACCOUNTS OF GOLD THERE FROM THE NATIVES ON BOARD—ARRIVES IN THE EVENING AND ANCHORS—DISAPPOINTED AND LEAVES IT FOR THE NEXT SEEN IN THE WEST, WHICH HE NAMES FERNANDINA—TREATMENT OF THE NATIVES—DISTANCE AND DESCRIPTION OF FERNANDINA.

COMMENTARY:—EFFECTS OF THE CURRENT—RUM CAY AND LONG ISLAND—THEIR PROPER NAMES.

Monday, October 15th.—I had laid by all night so as not to pass the island or to be obliged to anchor before daylight without knowing whether the ground was foul or not; so at daybreak I made sail. And as the island might be more than five leagues distant, perhaps seven, and the set of the current detained me, it was noon before we reached it. The side of it next to San Salvador I found to trend North and South for about five leagues,

Commentary.

The Admiral had now left Guanahani, his Landfall, and was on his way to an island which he saw before him, and which he appears to have passed without further noticing. But before he finally took leave of Gua-

and the other which I followed trends East and West above ten leagues

And as from this island I saw another larger to the Westward, I made sail, continuing on until night, for as yet I had not arrived at the Western cape to which I gave the name of Santa Maria de Concepcion. And about sunset I anchored off the cape to ascertain if there was any gold to be found there, for the people I had with me from San Salvador told me that here they wear very large rings of gold on their legs and arms. But I really believe that all they say is deception, in order to get away from me. Nevertheless it was my desire not to pass any island without taking possession of it; but

Commentary.

nahani, he makes the startling assertion that he saw so many islands he did not know which to go to first. Was this the triumphant boast of success, or was it an expression of sober reality? The great discoverer of the New World had indeed now seen his adventurous voyage rewarded with success; his best hopes were now realized, and he might be charitably permitted at this stage of it to magnify all he saw without doing much harm to his narrative. But considering where he was, it appears more probable that this abundance of islands was rather in his imagination, and really those which had been mentioned to him by the natives of Guanahani, who, he believed, had enumerated "above a hundred." Perhaps he had visited the highest part of this island; but even from thence the summits of Cat Island could

one being taken possession of the same may be said of all.

And I remained at anchor until to-day, Tuesday, when at daylight I landed, with the boats armed, and found the people in the same naked condition as those of San Salvador. They allowed us to go wherever we pleased over the island, and gave us whatever we asked for.

And as the wind was South-East,* I did not like to stay, so returned to the ship. And there was a large canoe alongside the caravel Niña, and one of the men of San Salvador, who was in her, jumped overboard; and the night before, when midway between San Salvador and *the island first steered for*, another did the same. And I went after the canoe, which shot away faster than any boat could, for in speed they have great advantage

Commentary.

not have been discerned, nor those of Long Island, for they were between forty and fifty miles away, with Concepcion and Rum Cay between them, the latter being the nearest, and therefore more likely to be visible. It moreover lies South-West from Guanahani, and as the Admiral distinctly expressed his intention of proceeding in this direction, and says he is steering (p. 106) for the largest, these are fair reasons for concluding that he steered for Rum Cay,† for Concepcion is so small as to bear no comparison even with it.

* Note XXV. Appendix.

† Note XXVI.

over us. However, they went on shore and left the canoe, and some of my people landed after them, and they all ran off like a brood of chickens. And we took the canoe they had left and brought it to the Nifña, to which vessel another small canoe came with a man in it to barter some cotton. And as he would not go on board some of her crew jumped into the water and captured her. And being on the poop of the ship, and seeing it all, I sent for him, and gave him a red cap and a bracelet of green glass beads, which I fastened on his arm, and two little bells, which I fixed to his ears, and placing him in his canoe again sent him on shore.

Afterwards I made sail for the large island which I

Commentary.

But this expression about the number of islands is perhaps of little consequence; for there is, besides the foregoing, more matter at hand that will be found to confirm this conclusion.

It appears also by the Admiral's account that the *mareas*,* or the set of the current, much delayed his progress, so that he could not gain the island before night-fall to anchor, and was unable for the same reason to reach it before noon of the following day, Monday the 15th of October, and then he finds it was further off than he really expected. The distance of Rum Cay corresponds with that given by Columbus, but he was mistaken in respect of its size, and no doubt baffled and

* Note XXVII. Appendix.

saw to the Westward. And I ordered the other canoe, which the Niña had on her poop, to be sent away. And I observed afterwards, on the former one gaining the shore with the man whom I presented with the things above-mentioned, and from whom I had not taken the cotton that he would have given me, that all the rest collected round him in amazement, and must have concluded that we were kind people. The other, who had got away, had done some mischief to us, for which reason we had carried him off, and for which same reason I used this one well, and let him go, rewarding him so as to secure their good opinion, for hereafter, when your Highnesses send here again, they may be found good

Commentary.

deceived from the effects of the current. Yet no sooner does he gain it than, attracted by another large island to the Westward, without waiting to land on this, "the island first steered for," (p. 110, distinguished by italics,) he continues on his course towards that, making all the sail he can, so as to reach it before night. But there is evidently an allusion in the Journal to this proceeding, showing that Columbus did not consider it worth while to stop at Rum Cay to take possession of it, with such a prospect as he had before him. For he says (p. 110), "One being taken possession of, the same may be said of all."

Long Island would undoubtedly present an imposing appearance when seen in all its length, spread along the horizon of a spectator in the direction from it of Rum

companions; but the value of all I gave does not amount to four maravedis.

And about ten o'clock I made sail with the wind from South-East, and borrowed to the South,* to pass to the other island, which is very large, and where all the natives I have with me from San Salvador make signs that there is abundance of gold, and that the natives

Commentary.

Cay, which it would render quite insignificant. Hence the anxiety of Columbus to proceed, and not to lose time by landing on the latter, as this would be tedious, in consequence of the reefs off it; and thus the apparent haste of the Admiral to hurry on for the prize before him, without even naming Rum Cay, is readily accounted for. Long Island, although a narrow strip of land, a mere mountain ridge lifted above the ocean surface, and only two or three miles across, lies in a N.N.W. and S.S.E. direction, extending about fifty-six miles. With high anticipations from the imposing appearance presented by this island, and encouraged by the assurances of the natives of Guanahani, Columbus crowds all sail on his vessel,† so as to reach the Western cape of it before him in daylight, that he might look out for clear ground on which to anchor. He succeeded, and waited for daylight to visit this cape, to which he had already given the name of Santa Maria de la Concepcion.‡

* Note XXVIII. Appendix.

† Note XXIX.

‡ Note XXX.

wear it in rings on their arms and legs and ears and noses, and even on their breasts.

From Santa Maria to this island it is about nine leagues more East and West.* And this part of the island trends North-West and South-East, and it appears that on this side of it there would be more than twenty-eight leagues; and it is not mountainous, but like San

Commentary.

Whether he had entertained suspicions of the character of its people from the scars (p. 91) of those he saw at Guanahani, or had imbibed the same doubts about them from the natives he had on board, the boats' crews are armed at daylight, and he proceeds to land with care and circumspection. But he is no sooner on shore than he finds the same simple-minded race of kind and confiding people, in the same primitive state of nature, as those he had already found at Guanahani. They are delighted to see him, they offer him their services with anything they have, and freely invite him and his armed crew to go wherever they like in the island. How different was all this to his anticipations. They were not warlike, but ill-provided and poor, and they had no gold to give him! He quickly finds that he is on the extreme end of an island, presenting nothing worth his having, and comes to the conclusion that his captive natives, with the hopes of escaping, have endeavoured to deceive him.

* Note XXXI. Appendix.

Salvador and Santa Maria, all plain without precipice. But like all the rest it has sunken rocks near the shore, for which reason it is necessary to be on the look out when desiring to anchor, so as not to do so too near it. Happily, the water is very clear and the bottom easily seen. At the distance of two gun-shots from these islands the bottom is such that it is impossible to get to them. They are very fertile and have a fine air, and

Commentary.

In this first route from Guanahani to the second anchorage of Columbus in the New World, we see the first result of tearing away the natives from their homes, a proceeding for which he has been so much blamed by the historian of America, Las Casas. They jumped overboard to escape, and the same desire to do so is occasionally noticed by the Admiral in different parts of his Journal. But slavery had been already established in Spain and Portugal, and why should not America supply the market? The first motive of Columbus, it appears, was that they should learn the language and be returned to their country after being made good Christians, to instruct and civilize their countrymen! a measure which was really attempted with some. But, to return to our subject:

Having now accompanied the Admiral through the first stage of his proceedings after leaving Guanahani, it may be as well to consider where he is; for this anchorage off the cape of a large island, at which he arrived on Monday evening the 15th of October, is far

may produce many things that I do not know of, for I do not care to stop and refit, but to go and find gold, which these Indians make signs to me is worn on the arms and legs; and gold it is, for I showed them some of the pieces which I have, therefore I cannot be mistaken with the Lord's help,* but I cannot discover from them where it is to be found.

Being half way across between these two islands, that

Commentary.

from Navarrete's position, and by no means coincides with that assigned to him by Washington Irving.

It has been shown above that from Guanahani the Admiral steered S.W., and it will be seen by the accompanying chart that the island called Rum Cay lies in this direction from Guanahani, and, as the Admiral says, from five to seven leagues distant.† But with respect to the size of Rum Cay, it is evidently erroneously stated in the Journal; perhaps from accident, arising from the blotted and rotten condition of the papers. But Columbus, seeing it was an unimportant island, and that a much larger one was before him, hastens off to it, and could not, therefore, say anything for certain about Rum Cay. If he really meant the length of its side next to Guanahani and that lying East and West to be as he gives them, they are greatly in error. But this requires confirmation; and it might be asked how could he have determined the former? All this must have been mere

* Note XXXII. Appendix.

† Note XXXIII.

is between Santa Maria and this large one, to which I gave the name of Fernandina, I found a man in a canoe alone, who was passing from Santa Maria to Fernandina. And he had with him a piece of bread about the size of one's fist, and a calabash of water, and a lump of red earth, and some dry leaves, which appear to be much appreciated by them, for those on board had already

Commentary.

guess work, for he could not get to the Southward, being prevented by the current.

But if Rum Cay be thus too small for the size of the second island mentioned by Columbus, how much less is that of Concepcion? to which island Mr. Washington Irving takes the Admiral by an East-South-East course.* The size of Concepcion in comparison with that given of it by Columbus is indeed quite insignificant. And notwithstanding the Admiral has been supposed by that gentleman to have steered East-South-East from Guahani to go to Concepcion Island of the chart (named on the chart herewith "Deception Cay," to distinguish it from Rum Cay), his track has been laid down here in compliance with his expressed intention of going to the *South-West*.† For at noon on Monday, when he had arrived off the island, he distinctly states the wind was *from the South-East*, and there is some probability that the little wind which he had the day before was from the South-East also. Of the current, too, a totally different

* Note XXXIV. Appendix.

† Note XXXV.

bartered them with me at San Salvador. And he had also a little basket, in which there was a string of glass beads and two white ones; by which I knew he had come from San Salvador, having passed from thence to Santa Maria, and was going to Fernandina. And he reached the ship. I therefore made him come on board, as he desired to do so, and we hoisted his canoe into the ship,

Commentary.

view of what Columbus did experience is taken by Mr. Washington Irving, but currents, it is well known, are very uncertain. There can be no doubt, however, from the foregoing, that at noon on Monday (having left Guanahani on the preceding day) Columbus passed along the Northern shore of Rum Cay without landing on it, and continued onward to the West under all the sail he could set for Cape Santa Maria de la Concepcion.

The Admiral, when speaking of this island of Santa Maria immediately afterwards, alludes to it, by this name, as that off which he had anchored on Monday evening, and that to which he was going as the "very large island." But why should "Rum Cay" be thus left nameless. It is clear that the Admiral passed it close, and specially alludes to it as "*the island first steered for*," (p. 110.) The long appellation of Santa Maria de la Concepcion is, therefore, divided between Rum Cay and Long Island: the name Concepcion being assigned to the former, and to the latter, Long Island, Santa Maria, or St. Mary; at the North-West cape of which Columbus had anchored—landing on it, as he describes, on Tuesday

and took care of everything in it. We gave him some honey and something to drink ; and so I shall pass him on to Fernandina and return him all his property, in order that a good opinion may be formed of us, the Lord willing, and that when your Highnesses send there, those who go may be well received, and that they may give to us of what they have.*

Commentary.

morning, and leaving it for Fernandina, the next "very large island" which he saw to the West, at ten.

In a discussion like the present, this precision of place and date, where it can be attained, is important, and, indeed, essential to perspicuity ; and more particularly so here, since the view now taken of the Admiral's course differs so much from the high authorities already mentioned, one of which has been confirmed by long established tradition.

* Note XXXVI. Appendix.

CHAPTER VI.

COLUMBUS ANCHORS OFF A SETTLEMENT IN FERNANDINA—PRESENTS TO THE NATIVES—THEIR KIND MANNER AND OBLIGING DISPOSITION—ANXIETY OF THE ADMIRAL TO FIND SAMOET—HIS REMARKS ON THE NATIVES—PROCEEDS TO THE NORTHWARD TO ROUND THE ISLAND—OBTAINS WATER—REACHES THE CAPE OF THE ISLAND AND TURNS BACK—RUNNING TO SOUTH-EAST AND SOUTH—ANCHORS UNDER THE SOUTH-EAST CAPE.

COMMENTARY: EXPLANATORY OF THE ADMIRAL'S PROGRESS AND POSITION.

TUESDAY, 16th October.—I left the Island of Santa Maria de la Concepcion about noon for the Island of Fernandina, which showed very large to the West, and navigated all that day in calm. I could not arrive in time to be able to see the bottom so as to anchor on clear ground, for it is necessary to be very careful in this to

Commentary.

COLUMBUS is now approaching that portion of his discoveries where he has been least understood, and yet where his journal is by no means deficient in clearness and perspicuity! Still, his actual proceedings, and their localities, seem to have escaped the penetration of all who have attempted to connect them. But here, in

avoid losing the anchor. And so I lay by all night for daylight, when I arrived at a settlement, off which I anchored, and to which the man had come whom I found yesterday in the canoe half way. He had given such good accounts of us that in the night there were plenty

Commentary.

fact, he was deceived himself, believing that he was aluding to one island when he was really speaking of two, thereby baffling investigation without any intention of doing so, and puzzling effectually the ingenuity of all geographers.

Among other reasons, such as the state of the wind, &c., for not delaying his stay at Cape Santa Maria, is the appearance of another large island in the West. He therefore makes sail for it, about ten a.m., with a South-East wind, borrowing, as seamen term it, (that is edging,) towards the South, that he might look down along the Western shore of the island, as he would open it when rounding Cape Santa Maria. Indeed, he desires to go to the South, as he has learnt from the natives that there is an island called *Samoet* in that direction, where there is plenty of gold; a report which is confirmed by his people from Guanahani, although, as he says, they are ready to agree to anything in hopes of getting away from him!

The wind, however, does not allow of his making much progress to the South. It falls in light airs, comes more from the Southward against him, so that his course becomes more Westerly, and he approaches

of canoes by the ship, bringing us water and anything they had. I distributed something to every one. To some a string of ten or twelve beads; to others, little brass bells, worth about a maravedi each in Castile; to others needles, which were highly esteemed; and to those who came on board the ship I gave honey of sugar.

Commentary.

the Southern portion of the Exuma Islands, the direction of which to the South-East, and even more Easterly, points towards that land, the northern cape of which, Santa Maria, he had just left. Thus the impression on the mind of Columbus, as will appear in the sequel, was that the island he was now approaching extended considerably further to the South-East than he could see, joining, perhaps, that of Cape Santa Maria; and before he arrives at it, while it is yet before him, he gives it the name of Fernandina, not having given any name even to that of Cape Santa Maria. This Fernandina Mr. Washington Irving justly concludes to be Exuma, at the distance of about nine leagues, as the Admiral says it is, from Cape Santa Maria, in a direction, as he adds, "East and West." Columbus suddenly asserts that it is twenty-eight leagues long and that he saw full twenty leagues of it. This great distance, as he went as far as the North-West cape of it, confirms the opinion that he considered it to extend considerably to the South-East.

The Admiral having made this passage, with very light winds interrupted by calms, does not gain the

And, after our morning prayers, I sent the ship's boat to the shore for water; and the natives very kindly showed my men where it was to be found, and assisted them in carrying the barrels, when filled, to the ship.

This island is very large and I intend to go round it, for, according to what I understand, there is a gold mine in it or close to it. It is nearly eight leagues East and West from Santa Maria; and this cape to which I have come, and all this coast, trends N.N.W. and S.S.E., and I saw well twenty leagues of it; but even then it does not terminate.

While I am writing this, I am making sail, with the wind from South, to endeavour to sail round the island and to persevere till I find Samoet; which is the island

Commentary.

island until daylight of Wednesday morning, the 17th of October, when he anchors off a settlement, and finds his ships visited by canoes even before he comes to his anchorage; a circumstance which he attributes to his good treatment of the native he had found half way across, and who had arrived there before him.

Here appears the first confirmation of the opinion which has been advanced in these pages on the subject of the abundant waters of Guanahani, viz., that they were really of no use to him, or why should not such a measure have been stated as that of completing the watering of the ships there?—especially as the Admiral has been so very circumstantial in his narrative. His stock after the thirty days' voyage certainly would be

or city where gold is found, according to what the natives say who have been in the ship, besides those of San Salvador and Santa Maria.

These people are like the rest of them. They have the same language and habits, excepting that these appear to be a more domestic race and more tractable and docile, for I see that they have already brought cotton to the ship and other little things, which they are more expert in bargaining with than the others. And I saw in this island even cotton cloth made like mantles, and the people appeared more orderly, and the women wear a piece of cloth, which however scarcely conceals their sex.

The island is covered with verdure: it is even and most fertile, and I have no doubt they have produce from it all the year. I discovered several trees very

Commentary.

exhausted, but he obtains no more than perhaps a few calabashes full at that island from the natives, who voluntarily bring it to him. Nor is there any mention of it at Cape Santa Maria; but here at this village of Exuma the natives, learning his want, bring it of their own accord; and not only that, but afterwards, when he sends his boat with empty water barrels, these kind-hearted children of nature are ready to assist his seamen by filling and carrying them to the boat, and in fact doing, as Columbus says, everything they can to please them. All this tends to justify the conclusion, that those inviting streams of water and the large lake so happily placed in the middle of Guana-

different from ours, and some with branches of different kinds and yet all springing from one stem, one branch of one kind and another of another kind, and yet so different that to me it is the greatest wonder in the world how they differ thus from each other. One branch, for instance, has leaves like the palm and another like the mastich; and thus in one tree there were five or six different kinds of branches. And these are not grafted, for the union is one of nature's own doings and no work of the natives.

Commentary.

hani, contributing, as they might do, to the irrigation of the smiling gardens and luxuriant foliage of the island, must have been unfit for use, or Columbus would not have left the island with so small a supply as just sufficient for a day or two longer. Guanahani has been dressed up as an island of Paradise, with the glowing colours of an artist's pencil, to which its discoverer, exulting at the success of his voyage, the first ever made across the sea of "darkness," lent a too willing hand, and in the exuberance of his satisfaction invested it with qualities which it did not possess, for it would immortalize his name! The circumstance is quite excusable. Who can blame Columbus? It is one of those little weaknesses of human nature to magnify, and all this gave importance to his very first discovery. Fortune certainly favoured him in the island he alighted on from sea, for Watling Island stands long acknowledged as the most fertile island of the Bahama group! distinguished

There appears to be no kind of religion among them, and I think they would soon be made Christians, for they have a quick comprehension. The fishes here, too, are marvellously different from all others. There are some formed like cocks and of the most beautiful colours, as if painted of a thousand different hues, and so bril-

Commentary.

among others by its exuberant vegetation, and known, even in modern times, as "the Garden of the Bahamas."*

Having agreed with Mr. Washington Irving in this discussion that on the morning of Wednesday, the 17th of October, the Admiral is at anchor off the island called Great Exuma,—from whence he considers him to have taken quite a different course from that laid down by the author of the *Landfall*,—it may be as well to look into it and see the reasoning on which the tracks are thus brought together and then made to separate.

The course which Columbus pursued from Guanahani to Concepcion, (considered here to be Rum Cay, although not named by the Admiral,) and from thence to Cape Santa Maria de Concepcion, (believed here also to be the North extreme of Long Island,) and from this to Exuma, which is agreed on as being Fernandina, appears on the accompanying chart.

And from the chart accompanying Mr. Washington Irving's *Life of Columbus*, the track of the Admiral is repeated on this as nearly as can be; but which track,

* Note XXXVII. Appendix.

liant that they astonish every one who, on this account, is anxious to see them. There are whales, also parrots and lizards, but of beasts I have seen none. A boy told me he had seen a large snake. I have not seen any sheep or goat nor any other animal, although I have been here as yet a very little time, for it is noon ; but

Commentary.

when the Admiral is running to the Southward from Exuma, may not be precisely the same, owing to the difference between the charts. However, from the South-East end of Cat Island, which Mr. Washington Irving considers to be Guanahani, he traces the Admiral's course to Concepcion Island of his chart and, as he says, to "East-South-East," in compliance with the intention expressed by the Admiral of going to the largest island which he saw, and which took him in an opposite direction to the current, which he considers to set West-North-West. Now it is unfortunate for this reasoning that by a chart on which these islands are laid down in their true places, an East-South-East course from any part of Cat Island will not take a ship to Concepcion ;—she would go far wide of it and near to Watling Island.

But besides this, and also what is said about going to the largest island, let us admit that Columbus reaches Concepcion Island of Mr. Washington Irving. He then adds, when near Concepcion, "Columbus sees another island to the Westward, the largest he had yet seen ; but he tells us that he anchored off Concepcion, and did not stand for this larger island because he could not have

if there were any I could not help seeing them. The extent of this island I shall describe when I have been round it.

Wednesday, October 17th.—At noon,* I left the settlement off which I had anchored, and where I obtained water, in order to sail round this island of Fernandina,

Commentary.

sailed to the West." "Hence," observes Mr. Washington Irving, "it is rendered certain that Columbus did not sail Westward in going from San Salvador to Concepcion; for from the opposition of the wind, as there could be no other cause, he could not sail towards that quarter."† This is followed by the conclusion that he sailed East-South-East, five leagues, to reach Concepcion from Guanahani. Now let us ask whereabouts in his Journal has Columbus recorded his inability to sail Westward from Guanahani to Concepcion in consequence of the "opposition of the wind" (not a very nautical expression by the way)? The answer must be, no where can this be found!‡ And it is remarkable also that on the very day he leaves Guanahani, he says he is steering "South-West" for the largest island he could see, (p. 106,) having previously said (p. 95) that he should go "to the South-West," a course that would take him to Rum Cay; and also that having reached this cay the next day at noon, he says, the wind was "South-East"

* Note XXXVIII. Appendix.

† Note XXXIX.

‡ Note XL.

with the wind from South-West and South. I wished to follow the shore of the island from where I was to the South-East, for it lies N.N.W. and S.S.E. I wished to go to the South and South-East, for all the Indians I have with me, as well as others, tell me by signs that towards the South is the island Samoet, where there is

Commentary.

(p. 110); with which he crowds all the sail he can on his vessel to reach the cape of a large island (Santa Maria de la Concepcion) seen in the West before night, and succeeds in doing so.*

“Then,” continues Mr. Washington Irving, “leaving Concepcion on the 16th, Columbus steered for a very large island seen to the Westward, nine leagues off, and which extended twenty-eight leagues in a South-East and North-West direction. He was becalmed the whole day and did not reach the island until the following morning, the 17th of October. He named it Fernandina.” And does the writer of this really believe that Columbus lay at anchor from the 15th at noon, when he reached *his* Concepcion Island, until the following morning at ten, when he distinctly says in his Journal that he made sail on his vessel to reach Cape Santa Maria of this large island before night, that he might see where to anchor, landing the next morning, as he states, and leaving at ten for Fernandina. Besides, where, according to this view of the case, is the island which he passed without

* Note XLI. Appendix.

gold. And Martin Alonso Pinzon, Captain of the caravel *Pinta*, in which I placed three of these Indians, came and told me that one of them had certainly given him to understand that the island might very soon be sailed round by the N.N.W. ; and I saw that the wind was not

Commentary.

landing on? This important passage of the Journal is altogether unnoticed by Mr. Washington Irving, as well as the second large island ; but being on his way from Rum Cay of the chart, the Admiral could not pass to Exuma without seeing the extreme of Long Island, which, by the reasoning of Mr. Washington Irving, he is not permitted to do, as he is too far to the Northward.

Again, Mr. Washington Irving states that on leaving the anchorage off Exuma the wind was South-East by South,* while Columbus says it was South-West and South ; and in allusion to the "remarkable port" mentioned by Columbus, and which the Admiral says was two leagues from the cape of the island, Mr. Washington Irving makes the Admiral run two leagues† after bearing up, and then arrive at the port ; and, to complete the account, he adds that the Admiral "sailing out of this harbour by the opposite entrance to the North-West discovers that part of the island which runs East and West." On referring to the Journal of Columbus, (translated in p. 132,) it will be seen that the Admiral speaking of this port, alludes to it as being too

* Note XLII. Appendix.

† Note XLIII.

favourable for the direction in which I wished to go, but was so for the other; therefore I made sail to the N.N.W.

And when I was about two leagues from the cape of the island I discovered a very remarkable port with an

Commentary.

shallow for his ships. It would be a very fine port "if it had but depth of water," but in consequence of its shoal character the ships really did not enter it at all; the Admiral merely visited it in his boats with his water casks to obtain water, having, as he says, (p. 133,) "anchored outside of it."

Such are the arguments on which the Landfall of Cat Island has been established, not only by the Historian, in the conclusion to which they lead, but that same Landfall has been sealed by the learned Baron Humboldt, in the work already mentioned. In reality they are so many proofs of the want of that patient and discriminate perusal of the Journal which it really required;—of that haste, in fact, which is so unsparingly attributed by the learned Baron himself to the pains-taking Señor Navarrete. Mr. Washington Irving evidently had before him a very bad chart, which assisted to mislead him; although not so bad as not to place an island (Rum Cay) to the South-West of Watling Island; but not so Baron Humboldt, who speaks in terms of admiration of the chart of Mr. De Mayne, the same that has been used in this discussion.* And

* Note XLIV. Appendix.

entrance; although it may be said to have two, for it has a rocky islet in the middle, making both very narrow. But within it there is sufficient room for a hundred ships, if it had but depth of water and was clear of rocks, and had a deep entrance. It appeared to me worth while to

Commentary.

the consequence of using the bad chart is that Mr. Washington Irving takes the Admiral to the South-East inside of Long Island, and thence across the Bahama Bank,—a course which by no means corresponds with the straightforward narrative of Columbus. There is said to be a narrow channel near Long Island leading to the Southward, and there only, which perhaps might be adopted by small vessels. But with respect to Columbus taking it,—first, it is by no means likely, from the bad weather which followed after the Admiral bore up for the South-East, that he would venture in that direction, when he observed that “it was necessary to get off the land,” and, secondly it will be seen in what follows that he certainly did not adopt that route. Let us now then forsake the ungenial ground of controversy and accompany the Admiral in the course which he pursued beyond all question, and which will take him to the South-East end of the same island as that off the North-West end of which he had anchored in the evening of Monday, the 15th of October, naming it Cape Santa Maria, but which island he believed to be Fernandina.

Having profited by the amiable disposition of the natives at the settlement where he had now obtained water,

examine and sound it, and so I anchored outside of it, and went in with all the boats of the ships, and we soon found there was not water enough for them.

When I first saw it I took it for the mouth of some

Commentary.

probably Exuma Harbour, Columbus trips his anchor, anxious to sail round the island, and writes while his ship is getting on her way (or underway, as seamen say,) of his intention to describe it as soon as he has done so; departing in execution of his project about noon of Wednesday, the 17th of October.

The natives, by their signs or expressions, had persuaded Columbus that his best chance of finding gold lay in the South, and particularly alluded to an island which they called Samoet. It would seem that when he was borrowing to the South, on leaving Cape Santa Maria, he would have gone there if the wind and coral rocks would have permitted him; for as he is now leaving the anchorage where he first obtains water, he expressly states his desire to go to the South-East* (p.129). The wind, however, was South to South-West, and the Commander of the Pinta, Alonzo Pinzon, having obtained from the Indians he had with him the idea that they might get there by sailing round the North end of the island, comes to Columbus, and persuades him to do so: on which the ships all make sail on a North-North-West course.†

* Note XLV. Appendix.

† Note XLVI.

river, and had, therefore, directed the *barricas* to be brought for water. On shore we found eight or ten men, who soon came to us and showed us about the settlement where I sent our people for water, some with the casks and others armed. And as it was some distance to find, it detained me two hours.

In this interval I took the opportunity of looking at those trees, the most extraordinary things I ever saw. They were as far in leaf as ours in the month of May in Andalusia. But the trees are as differently formed from ours as day is from night and morning; the same with the fruits and shrubs and even the stones and everything. It is true that some of the trees are of the same

Commentary.

How long the ships continued in this direction is uncertain. But it is not of much moment, as Columbus says when they were about two leagues from the cape or extreme of the island, he observes what he supposes to be the mouth of a river, and is induced to anchor his ships off it. Here, again, are indications of the ships being badly off for water, for, attracted by the appearance only of a river, the Admiral comes to an anchor and sends the boats with water casks to be filled.

Instead of a river they find what would be a harbour large enough to contain all the ships of Christendom (a favourite expression of Columbus) if it were not deficient in depth, a no less essential quality, indeed, than superficial extent for the formation of a harbour. It is described as having two entrances, formed by an island,

kind as those of Castile, though with very considerable difference, and there are other trees of different kinds similar to none in Castile.

The people, one with another that we have met with, are all of the same race, naked alike, and of the same stature, and would give away what they have for any thing from us. With some of the youths of the ships they bartered their spears for pieces of broken vessels and glass. Our men who had gone for water told me they went into their houses, which they found swept very clean, and that their beds and furniture were of cotton net. Their houses are all like tents and of a good height, with chimnies. But I have not seen among the many settlements I have met with any one with more than twelve or fifteen houses.

Commentary.

yet very narrow and with little water in them. The harbour, from this description, seems to correspond with a part of the shore of the island about ten miles to the North-West of the former harbour, but is really nothing more than the low shelving shore of the island covered to the depth of a few feet by the sea.

Again, Columbus finds the same kind-hearted people here as before; much in the same condition as to clothing, but all ready to serve him. His men visit their dwellings—comparing them to tents with a chimney, he speaks of their clean and neat appearance, and is struck by their substitute for beds—formed by a cotton net which they call *hamaca* (whence our term *hammock*).

The married women here wear cotton aprons, but the girls none, excepting some above eighteen years of age. And here there were mastiff dogs and *branchetes*. One of them had a piece of gold in his nose, about the size of half a dollar, on which letters were observed. And I almost fell out with them because they would not barter it; for I would have given any thing for it, in order to have seen the superscription and what coin it was. But I was answered that they never dare part with it.

After taking water I returned to the ship and made sail, and went so far to the North-West as to discover all that part of the island as far as the coast which trends East and West.

Commentary.

and he lets us into the important secret that the largest of their native villages that he had seen among the islands did not consist of more than a dozen or fifteen huts, or, as their brethren in the North would term them, wigwams. It is not unworthy of remark that we find no mention of these huts or villages at Guanahani until Columbus visits the Western side of the island, to which he goes on purpose to see the settlements and soon finds two or three, and, further on, "one of six cabins." This scantiness of dwellings does not appear to justify the conclusion that Guanahani was found by Columbus to be very thickly populated, but it would seem that for their residence the natives preferred the lee side of the island, where they find protection from the wind.

The Indians on board then told me that this island is less than Samoet, and that I ought to turn back to go there. It was then calm, but the wind soon sprung up from West-North-West, and was fair for where I had come from. So *I bore up* and steered all last night to East-South-East, sometimes East and then South-East. And this I did to keep off the land, for there was a considerable storm and the weather was very bad, and did

Commentary.

After staying a couple of hours at this anchorage and obtaining water, the boats return to their ships, and Columbus continues his North-North-West course along the island. The wind meanwhile seems to have died away, and the ships no sooner arrive off the extreme of the island than they are becalmed; not however very long, for soon afterwards it springs up again from West-North-West, which, as Columbus observes in his Journal, was fair for where they had come from.* This the natives on board also perceive, and signify in their own way to Columbus that this island (Exuma) is not to be compared with Samoet, on which he claps his helm up and stands away to the Eastward. The expression in the Journal is, *tomé la vuelta*, literally signifying, *I turned round*, a proceeding which seems among others of Columbus to have been entirely overlooked, but which is here a most important one in the subject before us.†

But trouble is at hand. Columbus says, he had ex-

* Note XLVII. Appendix.

† Note XLVIII.

not allow of my approaching it to anchor. It also rained very hard from midnight nearly until day, and continued very heavy for more rain, and we off the South-East cape of the island, where I hope to anchor until it clears up, that I may see the other islands to which I must go.

In the course of every day that I have passed among these islands it has rained more or less. Your High-

Commentary.

perienced rain every day more or less since he had been among the islands. He was now to endure the discomforts of a heavy gale, the first he had met with in the New World. Happily he was beyond the limits of that district of the West Indies which is annually visited by hurricanes, although it was their season, which is not considered over until the last full moon in the month of October is past. But although the part in which he now was is free from the effects of these visitations, it is not so from violent gales, attended with some of the character of the hurricane in the calm and changing of the wind.

The breeze before which the Admiral bore up, soon freshens, and he runs before it to the E.S.E., making good this course, steering sometimes East and sometimes South-East, the first part of it to keep off the land, the courses being altered as necessary. The first of these courses would take him from his position when he bore up towards and well clear of Cape Santa Maria: and with

nesses may depend that this country is the most fertile, temperate, and even that there is in the world.

Thursday, 18th October.—As soon as it cleared up, I continued running with the wind and went round the

Commentary.

the South-East course his ships would bound along before the gale at no great distance from the outer shore of Long Island, (the wind drawing Northerly as he proceeded,) while he was under the impression, from the direction in which the South-East part of Exuma Island lies, which he had seen, that the Southern part of Long Island was that same Fernandina he had left on the previous day. The deception would be completed in the mind of Columbus, first, by the direction in which Exuma lies being the same as the Southern part of Long Island; and next, by losing sight of this island when obscured at intervals of the storm and by the darkness of night, in which he was either lying by or running to the Southward; for the Journal tells us, that as the weather permitted, the ships continued running before the wind towards the South-East point of the island, which having reached they passed round it sufficiently to find shelter, and soon found a smooth anchorage.

This mistake of the Admiral in believing that he was now at anchor off the South-East end of Exuma, which he had named Fernandina, when he was really off Long Island, is thus quite admissible. He had undergone the ordeal of a gale accompanied by heavy rain, and in the obscurity of this and the darkness of night he must

island as much as I could, and anchored when it was not time to keep under sail ; but I did not go on shore, having made sail at daylight.*

Commentary.

frequently have lost sight of the land, anxious as he was to keep it on board, and at the same time fearful of getting too near it. His conclusion was formed on fair grounds, but under circumstances which rendered him very liable to be deceived as he was ; for he was now at anchor snugly sheltered from the sea with his fleet under the South-East end of Long Island, or, as he supposed, Fernandina, to which island the name Santa Maria has been assigned, as given by himself to the North-West cape of it, that of Fernandina being left for Exuma, on which island it was undoubtedly bestowed by the Admiral.

* Note XLIX. Appendix.

CHAPTER VII.

COLUMBUS FINDS SAMOET AND NAMES IT ISABELLA ISLAND—
THE FRAGRANT GROUP—CAPE HERMOSO—CAPE LAGUNA—
ANXIETY OF COLUMBUS TO SEE THE KING OF THE ISLANDS
—THE SHOAL AND ROCKY CHARACTER OF THE SPACE EN-
CLOSED BY THE ISLANDS—CAPE DEL ISLEO—EXTENSIVE
LAGOONS—NATIVES BRING WATER—KINDNESS OF COLUM-
BUS TOWARDS THEM—NATIVES SPEAK OF CUBA, CALLED
BY THEM COLBA, SUPPOSED BY COLUMBUS TO BE JAPAN—
THEIR POVERTY—SHIPS TAKE IN WATER—COLUMBUS,
TIRED OF DELAY, DETERMINES ON SAILING FOR COLBA—
HIS CONCERN AT BEING NO BOTANIST.
COMMENTARY IN CONTINUATION RELATIVE TO THE SITUATION
OF THE SHIPS.

FRIDAY, 19th of October.—At daybreak the anchors were at the bows, and I sent the caravel Pinta to the East-South-East, and the caravel Niña to the South-South-East, and with the ship I steered South-East; and orders were given them to keep these courses until noon, when both vessels were to leave them and rejoin me.

Commentary.

THERE would seem to have been a consultation on board of the Santa Maria on the arrival of the ships in the evening of Thursday the 18th of October, as to the steps to be taken for the purpose of finding this Island of Samoet, at which the Indians would assist with their opinions; for we find Columbus resolutely bent on dis-

And presently, before we had sailed three hours, we saw an island in the East, which we stood for, and all three ships arrived at the North point of it before noon, where it makes a rocky islet and a reef of rocks to the Northward outside of it, and another between it and the large island. And the people I had with me from San Salvador called it Samoet, to which I gave the name of Isabella.

The *wind was North*, and the island lay from Ferdinandina, from whence we had come, East and West, and the coast trends from the islet to the Westward, and is about twelve leagues in extent as far as a cape, which I called Cabo Hermoso, which is to the westward, for really it is beautiful, round and very bold, without rocks off it. First, it is rocky and low and inside a sandy

Commentary.

covering it, and adopting the above measures for doing so. A plan seems to have been devised for the proceedings of the ships on the following morning to secure this discovery of an island concerning which the Indians had said so much; showing the importance of it in the estimation of Columbus, and his determination not to pass it. The natives of Guanahani had pointed to the South as the direction in which a large island would be found, where there was abundance of gold. When the ships were at Exuma, they pointed to the South-East for this same Island of Samoet. Hence the anxiety of the Admiral to find it, which he would have done before, but the wind had always prevented him. Now, however, it was

plain, the same nearly as all the rest of the coast. And here I anchored this night of Friday until the morning.

All this coast and the part of the island that I saw is nearly all even, and the island the most beautiful I have seen. Indeed, if the others are very beautiful this is more so. It abounds in large flourishing trees, and the land is much higher than that of the other islands I have discovered. And it has some ground tolerably high, though it can not be called mountainous; but it surpasses the others in beauty, and there appears to be much water in the middle of it.

From this part to the North-East it makes a great angle, and it has abundance of large shrubs and brushwood. And I wished to anchor off it in order to land and admire so much beauty; but the ground was rocky, and I could only anchor a long distance from the shore.

Commentary.

certainly within his reach, and a plan had been carefully devised and was now in execution to discover it.

Accordingly at daylight on the morning of the 19th of October, without deigning to bestow a visit on Long Island, (Santa Maria,) the three ships sally forth from their retreat and stand out to sea.

Having cleared the point of the island, the plan determined on is adopted. The *Pinta* takes her course East-South-East, the *Niña* follows her to South-South-East, and the Admiral in his ship the *Santa Maria* steers the middle course between them, that of South-East. In this order of sailing, which the *Northerly wind* per-

And the wind was quite fair for coming to this cape, where I anchored, to which I gave the name of Cape Hermoso, for so it is; and so I did not anchor within that angle, for I saw this cape from thence looking so verdant and beautiful, as all the rest of these islands are, that I hardly knew which of them to go to first; nor can my eyes ever tire in admiring so much beautiful verdure, and so different too from ours.

I have no doubt that there are many shrubs and trees that would be valuable in Spain as medicinal, but I do not know them,—a circumstance which distresses me very much.

Commentary.

mitted, did Columbus and his two commanders proceed in search of Samoet, these having orders, as such courses would soon separate them, to rejoin the Admiral at noon. They had not sailed thus for three hours, when an island is descried, and they all alter course immediately and make for it.

The anticipations of Columbus, it may be supposed, would brighten up at this long-wished-for discovery. There indeed by the accounts of all the natives he had dealt with, his golden dreams were to be realized. There he believed, from understanding their accounts as well as he could, dwelt a King in a large city, who possessed abundance of this world's treasures, and whose very vesture was flowing with gold. Deluded man, what golden castles had he not created and stored with riches! Vain hopes, shadows of imagination, as easily

I had no sooner arrived off this cape than I found the air loaded with the scent of these beautiful flowers and trees, the most delicious in the world. To-morrow, before I go away, I shall go on shore and visit this cape. There is no town here. This is more in the interior of the island, where the men I have with me say that the king resides, and that he has plenty of gold. And I intend going there early to-morrow that I may find the town and see and speak with this king, who, by their signs, governs all these neighbouring islands, and goes about covered with gold. But I do not place much faith in what they say, from not understanding them well, as also from knowing that they are so very poor, and that however little gold their king might have, by them it would be considered much.

This cape, which I call Cape Hermoso,* is, I believe,

Commentary.

as they were formed, so were they gradually dissipated before stern reality.

Notwithstanding the wind was northerly (perhaps with westing in it) the three vessels reach the North-West point of the island before noon; and so particular is Columbus in his nautical description (although this is much mutilated) that the large isolated rock to which he alludes, with the reef, is at once recognized as the Bird Rock off the North-West extreme of Crooked Island, and the island which the Indians said was Samoet, is

* Note L. Appendix.

an island separated from Samoet, and there are even others smaller between them. Therefore I do not intend to examine them all minutely, for I could not do so in fifty years; but I wish to see and describe as much as I possibly can in order to return to your Highnesses in April, the Lord willing. In fact, finding where there is gold or spices in any quantity, I stop until I have obtained all I can, and so I go on in hopes of falling in with it.

Saturday, 20th of October.—To-day at sunrise I tripped my anchor from where I was off this island of Samoet, at the South-West cape of it, to which I gave the name of Cape Laguna, and to the island that of Isabella, to navigate to the North-East and the East by the South-East and South,* where I understand from the people I have on board that the settlement is situated,

Commentary.

that now known by the less attractive name of Crooked Island. It is one of a group of several long narrow islands, excepting the northernmost, which is crooked, standing in different directions from each other, but forming in themselves a figure bearing somewhat the appearance of an equilateral triangle, of which they complete two sides and a half, enclosing in a manner a considerable space, which is covered by the sea, but which is too shallow and beset with rocks to admit even the diminutive ships of Columbus to sail over it.

* Note LI. Appendix.

and also the king. And I found all that part so full of rocks, that I could not enter it to navigate there. And I saw that by adopting the route to the South-West it would be a long way round, and I therefore determined to return by the way I had come from the North-North-East on the western side, and sail round this island to examine it. The wind was so scant that I never could sail along the coast except at night; and as it is dangerous to anchor off these islands except in daylight, when one can see where to drop the anchor, for it is all shoal and rocky, some parts free from rock and others not, I kept under sail all this night of Sunday. The caravels anchored, for they closed with the shore early, and they thought that at the signals which they usually make I should do so likewise; but I chose to keep under sail.

Commentary.

The desire of the Admiral to get near the part which he believed contained the city, induced him to attempt this; but he soon found it impossible, and was obliged to anchor, as he says, a long way off the shore.

The interval of five days is occupied by Columbus at this interesting group, in the course of which he anchors off a cape, and is so struck with the appearance of this point of land, that he names it Cape Hermoso, the Beautiful Cape; another he calls Cape Laguna, or the Lagoon Cape; and the first which he saw and made for, the Cape del Isleo, or Cape of the Rocky Isle.

The first sign from which disappointment would be

Sunday, 21st of October.—At ten I arrived at this Cape del Isleo, and anchored, and also the caravels. And after dining I went on shore here, where there is no other settlement than a single hut, in which there was no one, and from our finding various articles about, I considered that it had been deserted from fear of us. I permitted nothing to be touched, but went on with the Captains and our people to look at the island, which, if the others we have already seen are beautiful and fertile, this is much more so, having fine large flourishing trees. There are some large lagoons* here too, their borders overhung by trees all round in a wonderful manner, and here as well as all over the island the verdure is equal to that of Andalusia in the month of April. And the

Commentary.

anticipated was the scantiness of the population, some very few natives only being found near Cabo del Isleo, who, although terrified on the first appearance of the Spaniards to forsaking their hut, recover their confidence, and behave with the same kindness and attention to the wants of their visitors, as did those of Fernandina and Guanahani. The Admiral does all he can to find out from them the city or residence of the Chief of the islands, and would go to him if he did but know where to find him; which, as he is unable to do, he very wisely makes up his mind to await a visit from him at his anchorage.

* Note LII. Appendix.

singing of the birds and the flocks of parrots, which are so numerous as to obscure the sky, are so delightful, that no one could desire ever to leave it. The birds are so numerous and so different from ours, that it is quite wonderful. And besides there are a thousand different kinds of trees, and all with fruit and delicious perfume. I am the most unfortunate man in the world not to know them, for I am certain they are all valuable: so I shall bring home some specimens of them and also of the herbs.

While walking near one of these lagoons, I saw a snake, which we killed, and the skin of which I shall preserve for your Highnesses. As soon as it saw us it darted into the lagoon, and we followed it (for the water was not very deep) and killed it, and it was seven palms long. I think there are plenty of them in this lagoon.

I find here the *liñaloe*,* and intend to-morrow to take

Commentary.

Here again, as on all former occasions since his arrival among the islands, wherever he lands the Admiral is in search of water for his ships. He does not appear now quite satisfied with that of the lagoons, of which there are some large ones in Samoet. For we find him (p. 150) looking for good water, ("andando en busco de *muy buena agua*,") so that on every occasion when he visits the shore, excepting that of his Landfall, he mentions the circumstance of watering the ships. He seems

* Note LIII. Appendix.

ten quintals of it on board, for I am told it is very valuable. Also, while we were in search of some good water,* we came to a settlement about half a league from the anchorage, the people of which, as soon as they saw us, fled, concealing their clothes and all they had; and I allowed nothing to be touched not even of a pin's value.

Afterwards some men came towards us from them, one only approaching us. So I presented him with some bells and glass beads, with which he was much pleased; and, in order to improve our acquaintance and to get something from them, I asked him for water. And after we returned to the ship they came to the shore, bringing calabashes full, and were glad to give them to us. So I directed another string of beads to be given to them, desiring them to come again the next day.

Commentary.

to have been disappointed with some he had found, most probably from being brackish and unfit for use, as that of the lagoons of this island must be.

What was it that enabled Columbus to discover that more than ordinary perfume of the verdure of this island of Samoet, and the beauty of Cape Hermoso, off which he had anchored, on all of which he lavishes so much praise before he discovers that the island which forms the latter is separated from Samoet or Isabella. The Admiral becomes enchanted with its sweetness, such that his eyes, he says, would never be tired of beholding.

* Note LIV. Appendix.

It is my wish to complete our stock of water here, in order that, if I have time, I may sail round the island and obtain an interview with the King. I may, perhaps, get some of his gold, and then I propose going to another very large island, which I believe must be Cipango, according to the signs which the Indians on board make and which they call Colba,* where they say there are ships and skilful seamen. And from that to another they call Bosio, which they also say is very large, with others between them that I shall see in passing; and according to what I find of gold and spices I shall determine how to proceed. But I am resolved at any rate to go to the main land and to the city of Guisay, and to present your Excellency's letters to the Great Khan† and to bring his answer back with me.

Commentary.

He had dignified the island with the name of his excellent patroness Isabella, beloved for her virtues. Perhaps there was the mixture of admiration of her character and gratitude towards her under the exalted report he makes of her island. Her virtues seem to have imparted an additional charm to all that bore her name. If he found perfection here, that perfection was now still more perfect. It is very well known that old seamen can smell the land a long way off, but certainly never were seaman's olfactory nerves regaled with such sweets as Columbus finds at Samoet! The Admiral is in rap-

* Note LV. Appendix.

† Note LVI.

Monday, 22nd October.—All last night and to-day I have been waiting to see if the King or any one would bring gold or anything of importance. And many natives came to us similar to those of the other islands, all naked and painted, some white and some red, some black, after their fashion. They brought spears and some cotton balls for trade, and exchanged them among the seamen for pieces of glass and broken vessels, and strings of beads. Some of them wore bits of gold in the nose, which they readily gave for a hawk's bell, and for glass beads. But this is little and amounts to nothing. It is true that whatever little thing is given them, they consider our appearance among them as a great wonder, and believe that we came from the clouds. We took in water for the ships from a lagoon here which is near to the Cabo del Isleo, as it is called by us; and in the same lagoon Martin Alonzo Pinzon, Captain of the Pinta, killed another snake, similar to that of yesterday,

Commentary.

tures with everything belonging to it, and is so delighted with the delicious fragrance wafted to him by the breeze, that the whole group might with reason be called the *Fragrant Isles*, when he tells us that "the very air was loaded with the delicious scent of beautiful flowers."

Nor does he stop here; for he is no less enchanted by the odour of the flowers than by the beauty and variety of the trees overhanging the lagoons, the extraordinary numbers and elegant plumage of the birds, the medicinal qualities he attributes to the herbs, and the

seven palms long. And I took on board as much liñaloe as I could find.

Tuesday, 23rd October.—I wished to depart to-day for the island of Cuba, which I believe must be Cipango from the signs which these people make of its magnitude and riches, and to give up staying here any longer, or sailing round the island to see the settlements, as I had intended, in order to get an interview with the King

Commentary.

charming variety of scenery presented by the island, the undulating ground of which, without being mountainous, assumed a more lofty character than that of the other islands he had visited : all this, with the quiet repose which he found amidst the vivid freshness of nature, rendered even more brilliant by the enlivening beams of the tropical sun, was too much for the descriptive powers of Columbus, and despairing of ever conveying a just idea of the picture before him, he deplores his want of knowledge, his deficiency of education.

Now the Admiral spoke this from his heart. He was always sincere. His admiration of the character of Isabella, his patroness, was general, and he had good reason for exalting her virtues above others. By associating her name with the perfections of nature as he found them in the New World, he was gratifying his own feelings. Isabella of Castile was perfection personified ; but besides this, she was the promoter of the voyage!

However, notwithstanding all this, the real benefit of a supply of water for his ships was all that the Admiral

or Señor, which would not detain me long; for I see there is no gold mine here, and to sail round these islands many different winds are necessary, and the wind does not always blow as people wish. My object is to go where there is something worth going for. I repeat it is not right to delay thus, but to be on the road, (*ir a camino*,)* and to touch at every place until an important one is found; although, according to what

Commentary.

realized at these Fragrant Isles, in addition to the enjoyment of the scenery they presented. His dreams of gold were passed—suspended for a future discovery. He could not even find the King, and in vain he awaited a visit from him. He abandoned the intention he had entertained of sailing round the islands, for to do so would require, as he said, “a great many winds, and these do not always blow as one would wish.” He moreover finds allusions made by the natives to a large island in the South which they called Colba, where there is a large city and a port, and many ships employed in trade; and very naturally feels that he is losing time and must depart, in fact to look for something worth finding—gold! Therefore, having seen no land in that direction, the Admiral begins to make up his mind for a sea voyage shortly, though it proved to be not one of many days.

Thus far then among the islands which Columbus first

* Note LVII. Appendix.

I understand this may be an important one for spices. But I do not know them, which occasions me much regret.* I see before me a thousand kinds of trees, each of which has its own fruit and is in blossom, as in Spain, in the months of May and June; and also a thousand kinds of herbs and flowers of which I know none, except this liñaloe, and of which I have had plenty brought on board for your Highnesses.

Commentary.

discovered, he has here been traced by means of the courses he has given, the corresponding distances and relative positions of those islands from each other on the chart, and the descriptions which he has left recorded concerning them, with a degree of precision that places his position at any time beyond a doubt. His last account of Samoet or Isabella, with the manner in which the group to which it belongs,—the Crooked Island group, or the Fragrant Isles, as they are termed on our chart,—was approached from Long Island or Santa Maria, the Isleo to the Northward identified in the Bird Rock, the large singular space of shoal water enclosed by them, which Columbus attempted to sail across to find the king of the islands,—all these correspond remarkably well on the chart with the description of them by Columbus, and add so many more links to the chain of discovery, contributing to set at rest the whole subject of his progress and position at any time

* Note LVIII. Appendix.

I have not yet sailed for Cuba, and cannot do so now for want of wind. It is now a dead calm with much rain. And it rained yesterday without being cold, the day rather was hot; and the nights are cool as in the month of May in Andalusia.

Commentary.

among the islands;—where, in fact, he has sorely puzzled all his commentators, and bequeathed to the world a sealed book. As, hitherto, every step in the Admiral's progress has been confirmed by those which immediately preceded and followed it, so in the sequel will the course which he is now adopting be found to confirm the present conclusion that Columbus was now about to leave the Crooked Island group:—the reasoning in fact depending not only on the particular features of localities, but the manner in which those localities were approached and left by him;—each one, in reality, forming, as it were, a link in the chain of proceedings, and, like the several progressive steps in mathematical reasoning, each contributing and necessary in itself to prove the result of the whole.

CHAPTER VIII.

COLUMBUS MAKES ALL SAIL FOR CUBA—SUPPOSED BY HIM TO BE CIPANGO OR JAPAN—A NAUTICAL DEPARTURE—DISCOVERS SEVEN OR EIGHT ISLANDS, AND ANCHORS—AGAIN TRIPS HIS ANCHOR AND IS UNDER SAIL FOR THE ISLAND—ARRIVES IN A BEAUTIFUL ESTUARY OF CUBA NAMED THE PORT OF NIPE.

COMMENTARY CONCLUDED, SHOWING THE ACCORDANCE WITH THE CHART, OF THE WHOLE PROGRESS OF COLUMBUS AS DESCRIBED IN HIS JOURNAL, FROM WATLING ISLAND TO THE PORT OF NIPE.

WEDNESDAY, 24th of October.—At midnight I tripped my anchors off this Cabo del Isleo of Isabella, which is the northern part of it, where I was pitched to go to the island of Cuba, which I learn from these people is very large and magnificent, and there are gold and spices in it, and large ships and merchants. And they tell me

Commentary.

THUS far has dependence been placed here on such data as the Journal afforded in tracing the Admiral, an easy matter in comparison with doing so by means of what is called a ship's reckoning, for the series of islands among which he had passed were but a trifling distance from each other, and before one

by signs that I should go West-South-West to it, and so I think, for I believe that if, as by signs that all the Indians make to me, those whom I have seen, as also those I have on board, (for their language I do not understand,) it really must be so, it must be the island of Cipango,* of which they tell such wonders, as in the map of the world which I have seen it lies in that direction.

Commentary.

was lost to view another was seen. Now, however, a voyage is at hand. The Admiral must now be followed out of sight of land, and hence some particulars of a more nautical caste will present themselves, which will be made as clear as they can be to the reader. Happily, the materials in the Journal are so unmistakeable, and of so definite a kind, that they can lead but to one conclusion. There are enough of compass courses and distances (technically called dead-reckoning) actually run by the Admiral to take him into port, and even what is most desirable, and scarcely to have been expected in the remote days of Columbus, he gives a *departure* when at sea to start clear with for Cuba.

This same departure resembles much a little piece of sarcasm that has hitherto slumbered unobserved by historians, and left tacitly disregarded by its author. The treatment which the Admiral had received from the King of Portugal was never forgotten by him. The base proceeding of sending the three caravels from the

* Note LIX. Appendix.

So until day I navigated West-South-West, and at daylight the wind fell, and it rained, and so it did nearly all night. And the weather continued thus with little wind, and then a light breeze came, to which I set every sail of the ship, the mainsail, with two bonnets, and the foresail, the spritsail, and mizen, and the maintopsail, and the boat on the poop.* I continued on under this

Commentary.

Cape Verd Islands, unknown to him, to test his theory, while he was waiting an answer to his application at Lisbon, and of which he was again reminded when leaving the Canaries, by the appearance of these caravels, was still fresh in the mind of Columbus. The indignity was too keenly felt to be easily forgotten. The parallel is afforded by the three vessels of Columbus sailing from the South-East point of Long Island on the morning of the 19th in quest of Samoet. The result was now proved to be as fruitless in finding gold as the Portuguese vessels had been in finding land; and the cases are completed in their similitude by Columbus, in taking his departure from the same point of land, naming it Cape Verd. Thus was the memory of that unworthy transaction on the part of the Portuguese monarch perpetuated, and the emblem of it left in the South-East point of Fernandina being named by Columbus Cape Verd. The Admiral sails from Cabo del Isleo of Isabella at midnight of the 24th of October, and the

* Note LX. Appendix.

sail until night, and then *Cape Verd of Fernandina*, which is the South-West part of this island, *bore from me North- West, distant seven leagues.**

And as the wind was high, and I did not know how far it was to Cuba, and in order not to fall in with it at night, for the shores of all these islands are very steep beyond two gun shots off, and within this all bad, partly of rock and partly of sand, thus one cannot anchor except by the eye,† I determined on this account to take in sail, and keep under the foresail only. But shortly the wind increased very much, and I went over much ground which I was ignorant of, owing to a thunder-

Commentary.

next evening about sunset, he names Cape Verd, the South-West point of Fernandina as above stated bearing from him *North- West seven leagues*. But, besides the simile which has here been drawn, each cape bears a considerable resemblance to the other.

From this interesting departure, which is nothing more than the bearing by compass, and the distance of a point of land, the position of which is known, and thence the position of the ship obtained, Columbus shapes his course West-South-West, for Cuba; but, notwithstanding he has a good breeze, he reduces sail, being desirous of seeing his way before him, so as not to fall in with land in the dark; and in consequence does not make good more than two leagues on this course during the night.

* Note LXI. Appendix.

† Note LXII.

storm and rain. I directed the foresail to be taken in, and we did not go this night above two leagues.

Commentary.

Happily for history, the Admiral is occasionally precise in his descriptions, going into minutæ now and then which could scarcely be expected; not but that he might have been more so in his Landfall, and have told us whether the "*muchas aguas*" he found at Guanahani were salt or not; and some other little things which he did not vouchsafe to do. But here, in making sail from this island of Isabella, he specifies so distinctly all the sails of his ship, that he has enabled the archeologist* to determine with tolerable probability, not only the nature, but the size of the ship in which he made his discoveries.

As soon as daylight appears the Santa Maria again makes sail, and runs five leagues more on her West-South-West course until 9h. a.m., when the Admiral alters this course for West, and on this latter course he sails forty-four miles, and again sees land, consisting of seven or eight small islands, lying in a North and South direction from each other, to which he gives the name of *Islas de Arena*, or the Sandy islands, alluding to the small depth of water he found to the southward of them. At present these islands bear the expressive, if not elegant, appellation of the Ragged Islands, (and the southern one San Domingo Cay,) on account, perhaps, of the

* Note LXIII. Appendix.

Thursday, 25th of October.—After sunrise we steered West-South-West until nine, and went five leagues;

Commentary.

ragged appearance of their summits as seen stretching along the horizon, breaking the continuity of the dark blue edge of the ocean by their jagged outline. These *Islas de Arenas** or Sandy Islands consist of a string or belt of small coral cays, forming the edge of the great Bahama Bank, where they are situated. They boast of a boat harbour, and are resorted to for salt, in the collection of which, in these days, some hundred of people are employed.

But where is the Admiral and his ships. It appears by his Journal that he had sailed certain courses and distances, which had brought him at three in the afternoon of the 25th of October, (Thursday,) in sight of these islands, when perceiving them, and finding himself on a bank of soundings, he drops his anchor, determined to look at them. He, moreover, gives us their distance from his anchorage as amounting to five or six leagues.

The Admiral, although it may not appear in his Journal, seems to have had ample opportunity for visiting these islets, between the afternoon of Thursday, when he first discovered them, and the morning of Saturday, when he again sails for Cuba. Certainly he does not give us the time of his anchoring on this bank, which,

* Note LXIV. Appendix.

afterwards altered course to West, going eight miles per hour until three, and went forty-four miles: then saw

Commentary.

in celebration of such an event, and being so distinctly alluded to by the Admiral as extending as far as six leagues to the Southward of the islands,* is justly entitled to be distinguished by his name; yet it is more than probable, from these observations and the opportunity afforded him, that he did so. But they could have no attraction for Columbus, who had already found better, and was in quest of something more to his purpose than salt! For his natives on board had made him understand that they were but a day and a half's sail with their canoes from Cuba,† and that Cuba was indeed a larger island than any he had yet seen, besides all the ships and merchants, and their gold, that he would find there. Sandy isles were then indeed beneath his notice; besides he imagined that this Cuba must really be the island he had been told of as Cipango or Japan, to which his attention had in fact all along been directed.

Therefore having ascertained this poverty of the Sandy Isles, at sunrise on the morning of Saturday the 27th of October, the ships again trip their anchors, and steer South-South-West once more for Cuba, instead of West-South-West, as they had done before. After running seventeen leagues on this course, the same sun at setting enabled Columbus to discover this long desired land of

* Note LXV. Appendix.

† Note LXVI.

land, which was formed by seven or eight islands, lying North and South, distant from us five leagues.*

Commentary.

Cuba, the nearest part of which would then be about six or seven leagues from him, and therefore its high land† would be plainly discernible.

Another rainy night is passed in the vicinity of the land, and at daylight on the following morning, the 28th of October, the ships resume their former course, and shortly enter a beautiful harbour, clear of rocks and dangers, spacious and well sheltered; in short, formed by nature to meet all the wishes of the most fastidious seaman, even to its very entrance, large enough for a ship to work into, and with a depth of twelve fathoms!‡

But Columbus is far from being fastidious. No one is more easily pleased. He was delighted with the islands he had already seen. Here, if possible, he is still more pleased with everything before him, and finds so much perfection from the bounteous hand of nature, that "in all his life he never witnessed before!" The harbour, by his account, is surrounded by magnificent trees, different from those of Europe, bearing flower and fruit; he sees a different and finer kind of palm from that of Europe, also multitudes of birds and parrots which he could imagine in the notes of their song were

* Note LXVII. Appendix.

† Note LXVIII.

‡ Note LXIX.

Friday, 26th of October.—At anchor off the southern part of the islands, distant about five or six leagues, all

Commentary.

even welcoming his arrival.* Moreover the harbour is spacious and deep for large ships. He visits the shore, and proceeds some distance in his boat up the river which falls into it; and so delighted is he with everything he sees, that he turns back with reluctance.

Thus then Columbus had reached Cuba. The gratification which he now enjoyed was rendered even more complete by his belief that if it was not the long looked for Island of Cipango, that Japan in which the great Khan reigned in the splendour described by Marco Polo, and whose vessels occasionally visited the very harbour in which his ship was now at anchor, it certainly must be the mainland of India that he is upon; a belief which he cherished to his latest hour! He gladly welcomes the accounts he receives from the Indians of the gold mines of the island, the abundance of pearls he was to find, and in his dream, of joy bestows on the harbour the exalted name of San Salvador.

Señor Navarrete has recorded his opinion that this harbour is that now known as the port of Nipe. Following the Admiral to it as has now been done, it cannot be any other! His track to it from the bank on which he anchored, the description which he has given of it, and the *deep channel* into it of twelve fathoms

* Note LXX. Appendix.

low. The natives on board say, they are a day and a half distant by their canoes from Cuba; these are small

Commentary.

that no other near it possesses, clearly prove that Navarrete was right here when he declared that the port of San Salvador of Columbus in Cuba is in reality the port of Nipe.

Thus then, reverting to the purpose before us, has WATLING ISLAND been established as the LANDFALL of Columbus on his first discovery of America, not only by its own peculiar features corresponding with their description given by the Admiral, but by the chain of evidence gradually developed in the several islands, their relative positions and features all corresponding with that description, even to the courses on which he approached and left them up to his arrival in Cuba. It was necessary, in order to prove the identity of the Landfall, to accompany Columbus from one island to another, to compare, as he went along, his Journal with the chart, as far as this would allow, in order to see that his account of the islands, as far as it goes, agrees with their relative positions, not only with each other, but also in connection with a known place in Cuba, as the only certain means of securing a correct result. By the route through which the Admiral has been traced his statements agree with the chart,—the islands mentioned by him can be no other than those here pointed out. The track of the Admiral has been so clearly designated by himself, in direction at least, if not by the very compass

vessels of wood and carry no sail. I departed thence for Cuba, for by the signs which the Indians make of its

Commentary.

point, as well as the distances he gives, which (with slight exceptions to be attributed to blotted paper) so fairly correspond with those of the chart, that the whole result deduced is at once conclusive and satisfactory.

The tracks of the ships across the ocean could be no definite guide to any conclusion of this kind; for the effects of currents, of the ill known variation of the compass, even indeed of wild steering, might be such as to bring the fleet of Columbus to any island in any predetermined position, not outrageously wide of the truth. But by departing with him from his Landfall, and finding the islands successively visited by him by means of their direction and distances from each other as he has given them as far as Cuba, and finding that there is thus a fair concordance between the Chart and the Journal, a chain of evidence is completed from which there can be no appeal, and which establishes the real Landfall beyond the reach of controversy.

In the foregoing discussion some stress has necessarily been laid on the reasoning by which the real Landfall of Columbus has here been proved. Shall we turn from this mass of evidence to that of Mr. Washington Irving? supported as it is by Baron Humboldt. We must do so, for it keeps the world persuaded (in its ignorance) that Cat Island was the Landfall. It is an ungracious task; but truth must be respected for her

grandeur, and the gold and pearls of it, I thought it must be Cipango.

Saturday, 27th of October.—At sunrise we tripped our anchors from these islands, which I call *Islas de*

Commentary.

own sake, and the unsound arguments on which that theory is based, must not be permitted to pass current as they now do, fair as they may be in outward appearance but inwardly inconsistent and self contradictory.

Mr. Washington Irving, when last alluded to here, had brought Columbus to Exuma, which we agreed was his Fernandina Island, from whence, after taking him to Long Island, (*Isla Larga*, he calls it,) he makes the Admiral cross the Great Bahama Bank to an anchorage off the Mucarras Islands, losing sight of his systematic sailing from Cape Verd, the proceedings among the *Fragrant Isles*, the lagoons, the departure, and the bank of the *Arenas*. Losing sight of all this, Mr. Washington Irving brings Columbus summarily to anchor off the Mucarras by a line of reasoning so very peculiar, and so sadly deficient in nautical experience, that if the reader were not told the contrary, he might doubt whether the discussion had come from the pen of one who knew anything of salt water. And when it is considered that this is a portion only of that reasoning on which the Landfall of Cat Island is founded, it certainly becomes of too much importance to be passed unnoticed. It is this. After wrongly concluding that the Island of Isabella or *Samoet* agrees so exactly in its description with *Isla Lar-*

Arenas, from the little water there is to the southward of them as far as six leagues. Went eight miles an

Commentary.

ga, (Long Island, the Santa Maria of Columbus,) which lies East of Exuma, "that it is only necessary to read it with the chart unfolded to be convinced of its identity,"* Mr. Washington Irving, (we quote his words,) in order to show that the *Arenas* of Columbus are the *Mucarras*, gives us this piece of reasoning. He says,—“The distances run by Columbus, *added* to the departure taken from Fernandina and the distance from the Islands of Arenas at the time of discovering, give a *sum* of thirty leagues. This *sum* of thirty leagues is about three less than the distance [mark the precision] from the S.W. point of Fernandina or Exuma, whence Columbus *took his departure*, to the group of Mucaras, which lie East of Cayo Lobo on the grand bank of Bahama, and which correspond to the description of Columbus.”† It is tolerably clear that the writer of the foregoing was not initiated in the mystery of a nautical departure. Certain observations previously made, about “a ship swinging against rocks,” “the Cadena stretching in a North-West by South-East direction,”‡ might raise a doubt, in the mind of the nautical man, about the nautical experience of the author:—but the foregoing is conclusive. The “*departure*” betrays indeed a *departure* from all nautical

* Note LXXI. Appendix.

† Note LXXII.

‡ Note LXXIII.

hour until one in the day, South-South-West, having gone forty miles, and up to evening went twenty-eight

Commentary.

rules, which rules, (from a series of zigzag courses and distances on them, one of which is here the "departure,") give the actual distance in a straight line, but not by considering those distances as a *sum* in addition! The seaman would rather treat this as a case for his Traverse Table, or, as recommended by Baron Humboldt, with a little "graphic construction" on the chart! a process no doubt intended.

The reader will find, on the accompanying chart, this very departure, to which allusion has been made, and the courses, and distances run by the Admiral on them, laid down upon it, and will see that they really amount to twenty leagues instead of thirty in a direct line, and correspond with the distance between Cape Verd and the Arenas Bank. And it is still more unfortunate for the foregoing finely drawn conclusion of the distance being only three leagues in error, that instead of thirty leagues, the Mucarras are forty leagues from Exuma.

These remarks must not be considered as made with any other motive than that of a regard for geographical truth. *Magna est veritas et prevalebit*, has been our motto throughout this discussion, and the object of the author of the Landfall has been only to show by fair argument the inconsistency of that reasoning by which the world has been so long assured that Cat Island was the Landfall of Columbus; to counteract, in fact, the prejudice of an

miles more on the same course, and before night saw land. At night had a considerable quantity of rain, and

Commentary.

erroneous theory, established in the darker ages of the world, and unfortunately perpetuated instead of being rooted out when a fair opportunity offered in these more enlightened days.

One more remark on this same reasoning may be made in conclusion. It may be fairly asked, where is the bank of shoal water that, Columbus says, extends six leagues South of the *Arenas*,* to be found South of the *Mucarras*? Happily the Old Bahama Channel has not been blocked up by any such obstacle, and as Columbus anchored five or six leagues Eastward of the *Arenas*, how could he do that East of the *Mucarras* when he would be in the yet unfathomed deep water of that channel? Again, from his anchorage on the bank East of the *Arenas*, he runs to the South-South-West seventeen leagues before he sees land, which is then still some leagues distant from him. Where would his ships have been when more than seventeen leagues South-South-West of the *Mucarras*?—the chart tells us they would have been high and dry in Cuba!

And yet we are gravely informed by the learned Baron Humboldt, that we are to consider ourselves fortunate that the foregoing reasoning has been preserved for us by Mr. Washington Irving. There is no

* Note LXXIV., Appendix.

lay by. On Saturday, up to sunset, ran seventeen leagues to South-South-West.

Commentary.

mistaking the following extracts, in which this appears, and in which the Baron indulges in happy gratulations at our good fortune in possessing it! He says, the American Lieutenant (for Mr. Washington Irving) considers Columbus to have gone from Fernandina by the Mucarras to the large inlet called the Caraveles Grandes in Cuba, and of his conclusion the Baron adds:—

“This is the result obtained by the naval officer of the United States, whose judicious discussions Mr. Washington Irving has preserved for us. A simple graphic construction will prove that with the rhumbs [compass courses] and distances indicated above according to the Journal of Columbus the place where he made the land by the reckoning could not be the port of Nipe, and the *Islas de Arena* are not the Cayos of San Domingo at the South-East end of the Great Bank of Bahama; but the dangerous islets of the Mucarras in the meridian of Point Maternillos.”*

There is no mistaking the foregoing:—but, alas! had the learned author of the “*Cosmos*” read what he was thus confirming, and the extraordinary reasoning on which it was founded, he would have discovered (as shown above) that instead of the “*graphic*” process to which he alludes to bring Columbus from Fernandina

* Note LXXV., Appendix.

Sunday, 28th of October.—Continued from thence South-South-West for the nearest land of Cuba, and

Commentary.

to the Mucarras, the American officer had adopted one purely *arithmetical*,—one of *simple addition*, to take the Admiral where he never went!

The Baron could not possibly have been aware of this fact when he expressed his approval of it; nor could he have considered that it was necessary to show that a sandbank, as mentioned by Columbus, extends six leagues South from the Mucarras; or, that Columbus absolutely sailed seventeen leagues due South nearly by the chart, from the bank East of them, and then had not reached Cuba by several leagues, before he could have pronounced (as he has done) that tradition was right, that Mr. Washington Irving was right in upholding the ancient landmarks which established Cat Island as his Landfall!—an island which he never beheld. Had he considered how impossible all this was, how every step of the Admiral's progress contradicts it, he would never have said, as he has done in concluding his long discussion upon de la Cosa's chart,—

“It has been established that the ancient opinion which recognized the first landing place of the Spaniards near the Eastern border of the Great Bahama Bank, is conformable to the accounts of navigators, and to documents which had not been previously consulted.”*

* Note LXXVI., Appendix.

entered a beautiful estuary, clear of rocks and other dangers. And all the coast we came to was very bold and clear of dangers to the shore. The mouth of the

Commentary.

In this conclusion of his discussion the learned Baron alludes to that unworthy document, de la Cosa's chart, as one not previously consulted. But there is another besides this which the Baron, although he must have had it before him, has entirely overlooked; that really valuable work given to us by the painstaking Navarrete,—the Admiral's Journal! This long neglected book, if it had been examined closely, would have proved, as now shown, that it is not conformable to the ancient opinion of Cat Island being the Landfall, but undoubtedly shows that Watling Island *was* that Landfall, and in reality the island on which Columbus first landed in the New World!

While asserting this, we disclaim the possible imputation of underrating the invaluable researches of Baron Humboldt, so well known to the world. If our humble but persevering efforts, repeatedly foiled and as repeatedly renewed, have set at rest this long pending question of the Landfall,—if the island be now unquestionably pointed out on which the great Admiral first set his foot on American soil,—if his earliest footsteps in the New World, even among these lost islands of the Spaniards, have now, for the first time, been successfully traced, the difficult task is amply rewarded by the harmony now established between the correct chart and the Jour-

estuary had twelve fathoms depth, and it was wide enough for a ship to work into. Anchored about a gun shot within it.

Commentary:

nal of Columbus, and in having finally set at rest the question of THE LANDFALL.

[In order to describe the nautical proceedings of the Admiral, so that a clear view may be had of his progress among the islands, a summary of them, somewhat in the form of a journal, has been added for reference in the Appendix. From this summary all extraneous matter has been excluded, and it will show, as nearly as can be deduced, his position every day,—after making those allowances for omissions in the neighbourhood of Samoet that appear to be necessary.]

PART III.

CUBA AND ESPAÑOLA DISCOVERED.

THE RETURN VOYAGE.

CHAPTER I.

COLUMBUS EXPLORES THE COAST FROM NIPE TO THE WESTWARD—ARRIVES AN NUEVITAS DEL PRINCIPE—ATTEMPTS THE BOCA DE CARAVELAS, AND RETURNS TO NUEVITAS—FRIENDLY INTERCOURSE WITH THE NATIVES—MESSENGERS PROCEED IN SEARCH OF THE GREAT KHAN—THE LETTERS OF TOSCANELLI—EXTRAORDINARY ACCOUNTS OF THE NATIVES—RETURN OF THE MESSENGERS—NATIVE HABIT OF SMOKING TOBACCO.

THE troubles which had hitherto fallen to the lot of Columbus in the course of his voyage, were principally those of having to deal with a disappointed and mutinous crew; and happily they only became serious when their cure was at hand,—when he could almost have pointed to the very land which that crew agreed to discover. Others, however, were now awaiting him, that sorely tried his feelings as a man and his powers of endurance as a seaman, qualifications for which the mariners of the olden time are justly celebrated.

It was on the morning of Sunday, the 28th of October, 1492, that the Admiral, with his little squadron, entered the port of Nipe, in Cuba; and on the following day left it in hopes of finding the city which he

had been induced by the Indians to believe lay to the westward.

Passing a harbour, which he named *Rio de la Laguna*, and which Señor Navarrete considers to be the Port of Banes, he continued coasting the island in that direction, and entered another which he calls the *Rio de Mares*, having a depth of seven and eight fathoms in the entrance, and five fathoms within it. This is an important place, not only in point of its superior capacity, but also as being the westernmost harbour in the island that Columbus discovered. Navarrete considers it to be the harbour now known as that of *Nuevitas del Principe*, (and there appears no reason for doubting it,) where Columbus finds the dwellings of the natives to be of a superior class to those he had yet seen and discovers some carved images, which he is at a loss whether to consider objects of worship by them or not.

Still pursuing his course westerly, the Admiral names the *Cabo de Palmas*, a remarkable point, distant about five leagues from the entrance of *Nuevitas*, and endeavours to enter an opening a little beyond it, known as the *Boca de Caravelas Grandes*, which the Indians supposed his ships would do. But the water was not sufficiently deep, and he was obliged to haul off.* The weather threatening soon after, and the wind being northerly and fair, he was induced to seek refuge in the harbour of *Mares*, which he had left in the morning, and accordingly bore up for it. Here, as soon as the natives are satisfied by a proclamation from one of his

* Note LXXVII., Appendix.

Guanahani Indians that Columbus and his people are peaceable men, they flock to his ships with their cotton balls and all they have for sale, and very soon a friendly intercourse is established between them.*

From this intercourse, and by means of the best communication by words and signs that could be devised, Columbus arrives at the conclusion already nearly formed in his mind, that he had really arrived on the mainland of Asia, and determines at once to despatch messengers in search of the city alluded to by the Indians. Accordingly two Spaniards, (one of them learned in Eastern languages,) accompanied by a Guanahani Indian and a native of the place, departed with instructions to find the king, and inform him of the arrival of the ships on his shores. They were, moreover, to make known to him that Columbus was the bearer of letters from the Sovereigns of Castile, as well as of presents, which he was desirous to deliver, and also to establish a friendly communication with him; that he knew of many lands and harbours, which he had discovered, and how far they were distant,† &c. They also took with them specimens of spices which he desired to obtain, and abundance of beads with which to purchase provisions in case the party required more than they carried, and were allowed six days to complete their mission.

The circumstance of Columbus sending off these messengers on such an errand in the island of Cuba, and with the above information, has afforded subject for

* Note LXXVIII. Appendix.

† Note LXXIX.

comment. In these days it cannot but wear an aspect supremely ridiculous, and can only be accounted for by the misconception which he had too willingly adopted. It was natural that he should endeavour to find the chief of the country where he was. Having discovered an unknown land, which he had been induced to believe was Asia, and having brought letters for the powerful sovereign who was supposed to dwell there, it was quite reasonable to endeavour to find him, and to at once open communication with him. The same principle had guided him in his visits to the islands he had left, although without success. He was acting quite rationally; but, as correctly observed by Mr. Washington Irving, he was under a continual series of delusions. As fast as one left him another supplied its place. He was absorbed in one continual day dream of Eastern magnificence and splendour; his thoughts were ever about gold and pearls; and the information which he occasionally obtained from the natives, was always dexterously distorted into accounts of riches of all kinds, the phantoms of an imagination willing to receive the wildest and most extravagant impressions.

Still admitting all this, it is but fair to consider that he was acting on the opinions of others better capable of judging than himself. Thus, having consulted the Geographer of the time, Paul Toscanelli, he received the following letters from him, preserved by Navarrete, in which there is abundant reason for imagining that he had reached the shores of Asia, the distance given being about as much as he considered that he had sailed

westward. They run thus, and attached to them are the notes of Señor Navarrete :—*

I perceive your noble and ardent desire of wishing to pass to the spice country, for which reason, in reply to your letter, I send you the copy of another, which I wrote some days since, to a friend of mine in the service of the King of Portugal, before the wars of Castile, in reply to one written by order of his Highness on the same subject; and I send you another sea-chart, similar to that which I sent to him, that may satisfy your inquiry. The copy of my letter is as follows :—

*To Fernando Martinez, Canon of Lisbon,—Paul,
Cosmographer.*

Greeting :

It gives me much pleasure to know the intimate terms on which you are with the most serene and magnificent King, and although I have often treated on the very short distance there is by sea from here to the Indies, (where spices are produced,) which I consider to be much shorter than the distance you are from Guinea, you tell me now that his Highness wishes for some statement or demonstration that he may understand and may adopt this road : for which, knowing that I could show it to him with a sphere in my hand, making clear to him how the world is, I have, nevertheless, determined, for greater facility and clearness, to show the said road on a chart similar to those used at sea, and therefore I send it to you for his Majesty, drawn and coloured with my own hands. In this chart the whole of the end of the West is painted, commencing at Ireland, Southward to.

* Note LXXX. Appendix.

the end of Guinea, with all the islands situated in this route, in front of which is painted to the right of the West the commencement of the Indies, with the islands and places to which you may go, and how far you may keep from the Arctic Pole by the equinoctial line, and for what extent: that is, how many leagues will take you to those countries abounding in spices and precious stones. And do not be surprised that I call the country West where the spices are, which is commonly said to be in the East, because those who navigate to the West will always find in the West the places mentioned,—and those who go by land to the East, will always find the same places in the East. The right lines which are extended on the chart show the distance from East to West, the others (oblique) from North to South.

I have also painted on the chart many places in the parts of India that may be visited on a favourable opportunity, such as in contrary winds or any other unexpected case; and then that you may be fully informed of everything, I will tell you what I have proved. The islands of which we have spoken are inhabited by merchants who trade with many nations. In the ports are numerous foreign vessels, more than in any other port of the world. The port of *Zaiton* alone, one of the most beautiful and famous ports of the East, exports every year more than 500 cargoes of pepper, without counting others which come loaded with all sorts of spices.* The country is large and populous: it has many provinces and many kingdoms under the dominion of a single prince, called the Great Khan, which is the same as King of Kings. He generally resides in Cathay: his ancestors desired to trade with the Christians, and two hundred years ago they sent ambassadors to the Pope, begging of him masters who might instruct them in our faith; but they could not reach Rome, and were obliged to return on account of the difficulties they found on the road.†

* The accounts of the city and port of *Zaiton* are taken from chap. 105 of the Voyage of Marco Polo.

† See the Prologue of Marco Polo to the account of his Voyage.

In the time of Pope Eugene IV. an ambassador came, who assured him of their regard for the Catholics, the princes, and people of their country: I was with him for a long time; he spoke to me of the magnificence of his king,* of the great rivers there are in his country, and that there are two hundred cities with bridges of marble worked from the bank of one river alone.† The country is beautiful, and we ought to have discovered it on account of the great riches it contains, the quantity of gold, silver, and precious stones to be obtained from it. The wisest men are chosen there for governors, without consideration of nobility or their origin. You will find in the map the distance from Lisbon to the famous city of Quinsay, taking the direct road to the West, twenty-six spaces each of 150 miles. Quinsay is thirty-five leagues in circumference, and its name signifies City of Heaven: ten large marble bridges on massive columns of wonderful magnificence, may be seen there: it is situated in the province of Mango, near Cathay.‡ From the Island Antille to that of Cipango, are ten spaces, which make 250 leagues: it abounds so in precious stones and gold that the temples and king's palaces are covered with plates of them. Many more things might yet be added, but as I have told you of them, and you are prudent with a good judgment, I need not repeat them here. I trust that my letter will satisfy his Highness, to whom I beg you will say that I am ready and anxious to obey him in any command whatever.

Florence, 25th of June, 1474.

* It is sufficient to read chap. 55 of the Travels of Marco Polo to have an idea of the magnificence with which the Great Khan was served.

† Only the city of Quinsay (says Marco Polo, chap. 98) has two thousand stone-bridges, with arches so high that a large ship may pass beneath them.

‡ All these notices of the city of Quinsay are taken literally from chap. 98 of Marco Polo's narrative of his journey.

Letter from Paul, Cosmographer, to Christopher Columbus.

I received your letter with all you sent me, for which I am much obliged: I admire your design of navigating to the West, and am persuaded that you have seen by my chart that the voyage you wish to undertake is not so difficult as is considered: rather the contrary, the course is certain as I have pointed it out. You would be assured if, as I have, you had consulted many persons who have been in those countries, of seeing powerful kingdoms, many populous cities and rich provinces which abound in all kinds of precious stones; and it will be matter of great rejoicing to the kings and princes who reign in those distant lands to open for them a road for communicating with the Christians, with the view of instructing them in the Catholic religion, and in our sciences, for which and many other things they can tell you, I am glad to see like the Portuguese nation that you are so well disposed, in which have always been found distinguished men in every enterprise.

There was sufficient authority in the foregoing letters to satisfy an ardent mind like that of Columbus that he had reached the Eastern border of the country alluded to by the writer. He might even have considered that he had sailed the distance specified, and seems never to have doubted the soundness of Toscanelli's conclusions. He was too happy in his dream of success to consider that it required the stamp of reality, and completed it in a subsequent voyage with visionary notions about the figure of the earth and the seat of the terrestrial para-

dise! still more extravagant; thus adding his own wild fancies to the ill founded reasoning of others.

But in those early days all was uncertainty, and geographers were as likely to create confusion as others by falling into it were to make it still more confused.

The very imperfect information the Admiral was enabled to gather from the natives by means of signs, led him to adopt the most absurd notions as true, concerning the people of the country he was in. It was rational to believe that merchants came there from the South-East in large ships to trade; but it required a mind ready for anything to imagine that there dwelt not far from where he was, a race of people who had but one eye, and another whose faces were formed like the nose of a dog, who devoured human flesh, and on capturing an unfortunate being would behead him in order to drink his blood; and another race of people with tails like monkeys.* Such notions of beings like these one might conceive it difficult to be entertained as real. They are nevertheless stated in his Journal, and belong to the catalogue of absurdities in which the mind of man revelled in those early days, ever prone to create the most unreasonable and wildest phantoms, and invest them with reality, in the absence of those sublime truths which common sense and the light of science has gradually shed throughout the civilized world. It is indeed too true, that the same cannibalism which may be supposed to have existed in those early days, is yet found

* Note LXXXI. Appendix.

in certain islands of the Pacific Ocean, gleams of which had somehow reached Europe, and in some degree originated the sanguinary portion of the foregoing: but the picture as a whole partakes so largely of the marvellous, that possibly Columbus welcomed these stories too readily, to excite the attention of Europe, and to add importance to his discoveries.

And yet the Admiral found nothing of this kind in the simple minded natives around him. From them he met with the same kind and friendly, as well as harmless, behaviour which he had invariably found. The former stories were, however, the shadows of the imagination, the crude ideas of things unseen; the latter was the honest reality.

The Admiral finds every day fresh objects of admiration in the beauties of the country in which he had arrived. The bounteous hand of Nature presented everywhere before him the wildest profusion of trees and herbage that could be expected from a tropical climate, and he writes in ecstasies of all he sees. Thus, trees reaching to the skies;*—flowers, fruits, and birds, the most beautiful to be imagined, are his common expressions. He takes the opportunity of careening his ships while awaiting the return of his messengers, but with the precaution of having one only on shore at a time, to prevent surprise. The party had left him on the 2nd of November, and on the fourth day of their absence came back, only to add more disappointment to that which he had already experienced. They had found no

* Note LXXXII. Appendix.

Eastern magnificence, and had merely visited a town about twelve leagues distant.

This town, by their account, consisted of about fifty houses, and is considered by Señor Navarrete to be the town of Principe or Bayanco. They had been well received by the kind hearted natives, indeed had been all but worshipped by them, being supposed to have come from the skies (at least such was their impression). They were carried to the principal house and placed on seats purposely set apart for them, the men squatting themselves around them, and, having satisfied themselves of their reality, the women in their turn took their places, and expressed their surprise and delight by kissing the hands and feet of their visitors, and assuring themselves by feeling their persons that they were really formed of flesh and bone like themselves. The spices were displayed, and elicited from the natives the information that there were others similar to them in a country to the South, although they possessed none.

Finding that there was no city near them, the messengers had returned, bringing with them many of the natives, who were desirous of accompanying them, as they considered they were to return with them to the skies, from whence they supposed their visitors to have come. How natural is this conclusion of the untutored mind of the Indian, who, without any idea of distance, of space, or anything to assist it, turns to the skies as the quarter from whence everything unaccountable to them must come.

The chief and his son also visit Columbus, who receives them with much honour, and had his ship been

afloat at the time, would in all probability have provided them with a passage to Europe! as he seemed to entertain the opinion that they would be capital trophies to bear off as proofs of the importance of his discoveries. The messengers had found on their road evidences of an extensive population in the number of persons moving to and fro between the villages. They reported highly of the splendour of the trees and the abundance of the herbage and flowers, the beautiful plumage of the birds and the exuberant fertility everywhere around them. But they had seen no other animals than dogs, which did not bark.

In the course of their journey they witnessed for the first time the application of tobacco to smoking. This was described as being in the form of a roll of a large quantity of the leaf, one end of which was on fire, the smoke being inhaled by the mouth from the other, a process which naturally occasioned considerable surprise to the Spaniards. Thus, says Navarrete, was the first lesson given to Europeans of this extraordinary habit, which has become universal; and hence the origin of the so much prized and so far celebrated Havanas. The natives on being questioned why they followed the practice, replied, as well as they could be understood, that it prevented them from feeling fatigue. Las Casas, the Spanish historian, is the first to exclaim against the practice, and says, for his part he cannot see what benefit can be derived from it. But Navarrete inadvertently supplies an excellent answer, one that applies to other states besides that of Spain, in simply observing, "Who would have supposed that this new and curious vice could have be-

come so general as to be one of the most profitable sources of revenue to the state?" This after all appears to be the most *beneficial* result of the use of the weed in all the various ways in which it is applied.*

But time with Columbus is wearing on apace. His ships are ready for sea, his hopes of seeing the king are disappointed, the country is magnificent, but the people are poor, and with these conclusions he hastens his departure.

* Note LXXXIII. Appendix.

CHAPTER II.

REPORTS OF THE NATIVES CONCERNING GOLD—COLUMBUS DIRECTS HIS COURSE HOMEWARD—SLOW PROGRESS OF THE SANTA MARIA—ERRONEOUS CALCULATIONS OF HER POSITION—IS DESERTED BY THE PINTA—THE RIO DEL SOL CONTRIBUTIONS—CAYO MOA.

COLUMBUS had now reached the Western limit of his exploration of Cuba. He found the coast, moreover, assuming a more northerly direction as he advanced, and he had no desire to pursue it to a higher latitude. Had he persevered in continuing to the Westward, his might have been the first European vessel to enter the celebrated Florida Stream, and experience its extraordinary effects. This indeed would have enabled him to have added another marvellous story to his collection. He must have been well acquainted with the remarkable current of the Strait of Gibraltar, as he had been much up the Mediterranean; but the Gulf Stream, as it is briefly termed by seamen, would have been to him and his crews a source of astonishment: the extraordinary velocity, the boisterous waves, the foaming, nay steam-

ing surface of this river in the sea, as it has been justly termed, and its enormous magnitude; all this, in the early days of Columbus, would have been a matter of amazement, and have added more marvels to his discoveries than he had yet found, besides inspiring seamen with a curiosity to behold such a wonder! He would moreover have had a fairer chance of benefiting from its full effects by entering it from the South than if he had done so to the Northward, and thus would have witnessed the grandeur and magnificence of that ocean river, one of the most remarkable phenomena of nature.* But this was not reserved for Columbus.

Another story, about gold being found by its glittering in torchlight, as it lay on the strand of an island called by the natives Babeque, was entertained by the Admiral on leaving the Port of Mares on the 12th of November, and accordingly this Babeque is eagerly sought for; but although it thus frequently occurs in the Journal, nothing appears to have been seen of it, and thus another phantom was disposed of, originating in a misconception of the real meaning of the natives, and a readiness to translate all they said into the realization of what the Admiral sincerely wished for.

In making his way along the coast to the Eastward, Columbus had now to encounter the discomforts of adverse winds and currents. The occasional slants of wind from the Northward that occur in the season he was there in, helped him along now and then, but the current was much against his Easterly progress, and as

* Note LXXXIV. Appendix.

the wind would freshen up against him, he was glad to seek shelter when he could in any harbour of the coast. These interruptions would almost seem to have been the heralds of that adversity which was so soon to overtake him, and which one of his historians, Las Casas, looks upon as a just retribution for his ruthless seizure of the natives, and carrying them off, in utter disregard of all ties of kindred, country, or natural affections. But the system was already established. Slavery was the bequest of ancient custom inherited from the earliest ages of the world, and already the markets of Seville and Lisbon were supplied with slaves.* Columbus, much as he has been blamed for these acts, and others which he was obliged to adopt in Cuba when his brother was Governor of the island, was only commencing here a system of heartless plunder, which gradually disgraced other countries of Europe, and which required an advanced state of civilization to see in its hideous form.

In consequence of adverse winds, the ships of Columbus, to use a seaman's phrase, were now mostly on a bowline, and had to stretch off the coast to a considerable distance to make their way Eastward. At one time, the 20th of November, the adventurous navigator appears by his Journal to have been about sixty miles from the coast of Cuba, and considering himself in the neighbourhood of the Island of Isabella, he expresses his intention of *not* going to anchor there, as he might have done, because the natives of that island which he had in his ship would effect their escape, (he means,

* Note LXXXV. Appendix.

although he does not say it,) and there were two islands also at the time to the Southward of him which he wished to visit. Now that we know the real position of Isabella, and indeed of all the islands he had visited in that direction, as well as the position he was then in, we can afford to smile at the vague notions he had adopted even on these matters as well as those about gold, from the stories of the natives. Thus, on the 20th of November, he considers himself to be twelve leagues from the Island of Isabella, which island again he says is but eight leagues from Guanahani, while in point of fact he was above twenty leagues from Isabella, and this again is thirty leagues from Guanahani. Still much credit is due to him, amidst all the trials he underwent, for having performed what he did, with the rude and primitive appliances of the day, in keeping the reckoning of his ship. But nothing could be more erroneous than his idea of the geographical position of the country, its fictitious gold mines, and its people;—that he had discovered an extensive well peopled land, abounding in valuable vegetable produce, was the main fact of which he could well boast; all besides was vague speculation mistaken for reality.

It was at this period of his voyage that he was forsaken by his friend Martin Alonzo Pinzon in the *Pinta*, who appears to have availed himself of the superior sailing qualities of his vessel, in comparison with those of the *Santa Maria*, especially in gaining to windward. The Admiral, from various reasons, expected to see nothing more of Pinzon, more especially when he considered that the act had been suggested by the story of

one of the natives about abundance of gold at a place where they had not yet arrived, which native had been sent into the *Pinta* from the Admiral's ship. The signals to close him made by Columbus were disregarded by Pinzon. Away went the *Pinta* to windward in spite of these against the breeze, before which Columbus was glad to bear up; and the Admiral noting it in his Journal adds the remark, "and many other such things he has done and said of me." Pinzon, as we have seen, had contributed largely to the outfit of the expedition, and was considered a first rate seaman; and it may be easily inferred that, presuming on this, he had become somewhat impatient of restraint, and took this opportunity of leaving his Chief, with the view of obtaining for himself a portion of that gold of which they had been so long in search. This, however, was but a prelude to misfortunes that awaited the Admiral.

Columbus visited one of the harbours on the Eastern part of Cuba, as he was making his way to windward, purely on account of a report that the natives there were even of a more amiable and apt disposition than those he had already found. He considered them therefore as better specimens of the people, and accordingly from this place, which he called the Rio del Sol, he carries off about twenty of them, of different ages, male and female. As usual, he expresses his admiration of all he sees; everything fresh before him is superior to that which he has hitherto found, and enhances in his opinion the importance of his discoveries. A letter entered in his Journal subsequent to this plunder, gives so good a picture of what is passing in the mind of the

Admiral on all these subjects, that it is worth preserving here.

“It is very certain,” says the Admiral, “that an infinity of important resources, must be possessed by such lands, and therefore I do not delay in harbour that I may add all I can to them. Certainly I do not know the language of the people: we neither of us understand each other, and even the natives I have with me in the ship perhaps mean something entirely different from what we suppose them to say. But I have little confidence in them whatever, for they have full often endeavoured to escape from me. However, the Lord willing, I shall continue to discover as much as I possibly can, and by little at a time gain understanding and knowledge. Indeed I shall make those about me learn their language, and then we shall see the advantage of it, for we shall labour to make these people good Christians, which they very soon will be, as they are all of one mind, and have no tendency to idolatry among them. Without doubt your Highness should direct the foundation of cities and fortresses to be constructed in these parts, and adopt measures to convert the people. I assure you there is not a finer country under the sun in point of fertility, freedom from cold and heat, abundance of excellent and wholesome waters, unlike those of the harbours of Guinea, that are all pestilent; for the Lord be praised for it, up to the present time not one of my whole crew has yet even had a headache, nor has been in bed from illness, save one old man, who had a disorder from which he had suffered all his life, and in two days even he recovered. And this applies to all the ships.

But I trust that your Highness will send some intelligent and learned men hither that they may witness all these things. Thus, as I have already said, there is a site for a town and fortress at Mares, (Nuevitas,) which is an excellent harbour for it. Depend on it, that all I am saying is true; but there is no comparison between that and this; nor with the Sea of Nuestra Señora; for here, besides extensive lands, you may have large towns and an innumerable population, besides supplies of all kinds of great value; for here, as well as in all other discoveries which I hope to make before I return to Castile, the duty of Christianizing them proves how much rather they should belong to Spain. On this account alone your Highness should not suffer any one to set his foot on this land unless he is a good Christian, for such was the great object in view for the glory and extension of the Christian Religion."

The foregoing were no unjust views entertained by Columbus of the importance of his discoveries, however unjustly he was treating the natives in first winning them by kindness and good treatment, in ministering to their fancies, easily pleased with baubles, and then, in the midst of their confidence, snatching away from their homes as many as he thought it convenient to take with him. Well might the excellent Isabella exclaim, at a subsequent period, on finding the natives thus treated,—“By what authority does my Admiral imprison my people.”* Bad as this was, how little was it in comparison with the miseries to which the unhappy natives

* Note LXXXVI., Appendix.

were reduced in St. Domingo by the war of the rebellion.

Columbus seems to have been more gratified with his discoveries on the Eastern part of Cuba than with those which he had already made to the westward. He describes the land as being more favourable for colonization, and the people as being more harmless, as well as more numerous, besides the harbours being better and having deeper water. On the 25th of November the Santa Maria is in the Harbour of Santa Catalina, now called Cayo Moa, where the Admiral is surprised by the height and beauty of the trees; they were larger than any he had seen, and sufficiently so, he observes, for the masts of the largest ships. The Niña is supplied here with a mizen mast, an incident that suggests a kind of scale of comparison from which a tolerable opinion may be gained of the ideas of Columbus when speaking of that perfection which he sees in everything.

Taking him at his word with respect to the masts of ships, they will sink into insignificance when we compare the ships of these days with those of the time of Columbus. Even a harbour that would be both large and deep for such diminutive vessels as his, and trees that would supply spars for them would be thought little of in these days. A large allowance must therefore not only be made for the ill interpreted accounts of the natives, but also for the ideas of Columbus as to what he considered to be perfection.

Among the rocks near the shore at this place indications were reported of iron and silver. At another port close by to Santa Catalina, Columbus is delighted with

its ample size and security, the purity and excellence of the water, which it received from the mountains, the beauty of the foliage, and the flowers with which it abounded;—he finds it impossible to over estimate all these beauties, or to describe a hundredth part of them, and only wishes for some learned persons to come and see them; in fact, it has pleased the Lord, he adds, to display to him the last thing always superior to that which preceded it in all his discoveries, not only in lands, trees, herbs, and flowers, but also in people, and all in various degrees. He does not except even the harbours, and says, that when any one comes to see them, his admiration and wonder will far exceed any opinion he may have formed from his accounts of them. No one in fact can imagine such perfection unless he sees it. Enraptured thus with everything before him, Columbus gives expression to his feelings in the letter quoted above; but looking at these places after an interval of three and a half centuries, Cuba, rich and beautiful as she is, and secure and perfect as are her harbours, has her rivals in other countries unknown in the early days of Columbus. He had just reason for his remark, however, in the size of the islands he discovered, for Cuba as far exceeded Isabella and Fernandina as these surpassed his Guanahani or San Salvador.

From hence the Admiral continued coasting along to the South-East, discovering some small harbours and admiring the scenery of the island, which had now become high and mountainous nearer to the shore, but presenting a beautiful country sloping down to the sea, covered by wood and intersected by valleys terminated

only by the waves. Passing a cape, which he named Cabo de Campaña, he considered this part to be formed by an island, called by the Indians Bohio, a name which they had often repeated; and as he found no settlements near this part, he accounted for it by supposing that they were kept in continual terror by a race of people who dwelt in the interior, called by them Caniba or Canimo, who frightened the timid natives by making occasional forays among them for the sake of their blood and the plunder of their little property, and that they were thus prevented from settling near the shore where such dangerous neighbours were at hand. These were the people who had been reported to him as having but one eye and the nose of a dog; but in justice to Columbus it must be added that he had sufficient good sense to doubt these assertions; although he seems to have spoken seriously of others reported to him as having tails! Nevertheless he considered these marauding people certainly came from the territory of the great Khan of Tartary and carried off captives at pleasure from hence, so strongly persuaded was he to his last day, that the land he had found was connected with or formed part of Asia.

CHAPTER III.

INDIAN SUPERSTITIONS AND EUROPEAN PHILOSOPHY—PORTS OF
JARAGUA AND BARACOA—AN INDIAN DOCKYARD—A NA-
TIVE ADDRESS—CAPE MAICI THE EASTERN END OF CUBA—
RELUCTANCE OF COLUMBUS TO LEAVE THE COAST—CONTI-
NUES TO THE EASTWARD.

THE amiable and simple Indians, who now for the first time beheld their fellow men among them from a distant part of the world, of which they could have no conception, immediately concluded that they had come from the skies!

Such people were entirely strange to them, and familiar as they were with the horizon of the sea, bounded by the sky, or perhaps by a murky haze, (for all beyond it was to them either the one or the other,) they could only imagine that the ships came from thence on to the sea to arrive at their shores. There was no great amount of invention in this idea. It was quite natural: and this first visit of Europeans, so different from those which followed, was marked by no deeds of violence to terrify them or produce any unfavourable impression on

their minds. But barbarous and cruel acts committed on a helpless and unoffending race make deep and lasting impressions, and fill the mind of the untutored Indian with conceptions of hideous objects. In civilized countries such deeds secure for their authors opprobrious, and perhaps well deserved, epithets, and history disfigures even their persons,* rendering them as unacceptable as their deeds, as is the case with one of our departed monarchs.

The people among whom the Admiral had now arrived, suffered from the predatory visits of a neighbouring race, and were living in such perpetual fear of unwelcome visitors, that their minds were imbued with all kinds of hideous conceptions of them. The Cyclopes of old are represented as a race of people who took delight in blood, and it is remarkable that the same impression of a one-eyed race should be found by Columbus in the minds of these inoffensive Indians in reference to their ruthless enemies. Thus the fable of the Cyclopes was not confined to Europe, nay, it is very remarkable that even in these days it is found in the far North, among the Western Esquimaux of North America, and also in the middle of Southern Africa. The Esquimaux of the Arctic Sea, on the coast of Western America about Bhering Strait, entertain this belief.† Indeed they go much further, for their race of one-eyed people would appear to have descended from Janus himself, for although they have only one eye in the forehead they have another at the back of the head. Nor does the ridiculous part of the story end here. These people, by way of uniformity,

* Note LXXXVII. Appendix.

† Note LXXXVIII.

are said not only to be thus furnished with but one eye in their faces, but even their dogs are also said to have only one eye, and that placed in the middle of their forehead. As usual, lawless rapine and plunder and deeds of blood, are attributed to them by the Esquimaux as they were to the Cyclopes of old, but it is carrying their ideas beyond all bounds in extravagance to give the very dogs so close a relationship to their masters. Again, an account is lately given in a letter from Africa of a race of people residing on the borders of a large inland lake, about East of Walwich Bay, which says,—“ But they represent the people as being monsters, with only one eye, in the centre of the forehead, and feeding on human flesh, as the giants of old used to make their breakfast.”* Here again the one-eyed race are connected with deeds of blood, followed no doubt by rapine and plunder.

It can scarcely be considered strange that such ideas as these were found in the minds of untutored Indians above three centuries ago, when they prevail even now ; or that other notions as extraordinary on other subjects were entertained then by the more enlightened minds of Europeans. We have already seen what absurd notions prevailed at one time about the navigability of the Atlantic Ocean, from which certainly Columbus was free if his crews were not. But when the Admiral crossed the line of no variation, or, rather, when the compass-needle from showing Easterly variation had changed to a point Westerly of the true meridian, about a hundred leagues West of the

* Note LXXXIX., Appendix.

Azores, he too began to invent theories and speculate on physical matters.

Thus, when he experienced in a more than ordinary degree that peculiar scent of sea water that might be expected to arise from the vapours of the warm waters of the Gulf Stream as they accumulated the weed of the Sargasso Sea, he adopted the extraordinary notion that a line was there defined from which an entirely different climate commenced from that to the Eastward of it. And he expresses himself in terms of eulogy and admiration of this new climate,—its balmy fragrance, so sweet that it was delicious to breathe. It wanted but the nightingale's song! So delightful was it, that even on his third voyage, when his ideas on these matters might have been matured, it had lost none of its fragrance, and was so superior to the stormy and turbulent climate of the Eastern shores of the Atlantic, that he considered it fit for the terrestrial paradise, and this he actually placed at the mouth of the Orenoco, the river which should flow through it, and named the two entrances of the Gulf of Paria the mouths of the Serpent and the Dragon!* Still more extraordinary than this were his notions of the figure of the earth, the crowning idea of his extraordinary mind. This he supposed to have a gradual protuberance, similar to the female breast, by which this earthly paradise was not only separated from the other parts, but by its position was exalted above them, and therefore so much nearer to the Heavens!† Here was refinement of absurdity of another kind; but

* Note XC. Appendix.

† Note XCI.

the doctrine of the protuberance had been taught by Ptolemy, and read by Columbus, who was considered one of the best informed seamen of his day, and the man who could entertain such ideas would readily adopt the notions of Toscanelli, and suppose that he was navigating the Eastern extreme of Asia when he was really exploring the shores of Cuba.

But in the days of Columbus ignorance and superstition were rife in the world. The dawn of learning might scatter its rays of light, but they were obscured by the mass of ignorance and superstition through which they had to penetrate. Men indulged in riddles of their own imagining, and what so fruitful a source for the speculations of their fancy as the figure of the earth?

Columbus was now almost loitering along the Eastern slopes of Cuba, anxious to be on his road to Spain, yet loth to deprive himself of the pleasure of feasting his eyes on the charming prospect they presented. We left him in the harbour of Cayo Moa, eagerly on the watch for reports of any favourable mineral deposits, or relating to the ground and its produce. In the port of Jaragua, close by, he was delighted with its ample dimensions and perfect security for ships, as well as the excellence of the fresh water which it derived from a river that fell into it, and the beauty of the trees, shrubs, and flowers. In fact, he considers it impossible to over-estimate all these riches of Nature, or indeed to describe a hundredth part of them. He appears to linger hereabouts exploring diminutive creeks and inlets of the coast for the mere sake of gratifying his curiosity and adding to his discoveries.

Proceeding Eastward along the shore, he enters the Port of Baracoa, with which he is no less charmed than with others he had left. The safety of it for ships, and the resources of the adjacent country, as well as its peculiar position, are all so highly extolled, that, at the recommendation of the Admiral, it became the site of a city. It is situated on the Eastern extreme of the island, which presented an extensive plain gradually sloping from the mountains down to the shore, intersected by valleys, and richly wooded; from which streams of water fall into the sea, affording, with all the beauties of tropical vegetation, a picture of enchantment.

While the Admiral was weatherbound here, he made a little excursion to the point of land which lay about a league to the South-East. At the foot of it he found the mouth of another small harbour, which he entered in his boat, and following the winding of a creek, came to what might be considered a native dockyard. Here he saw five very large canoes out of the water, covered from the rays of the sun, besides being amply protected by the thick foliage of the trees overhead. These were called *canoes** by the natives, being very neatly and elaborately carved and ornamented, and were fitted with sails as well as paddles, and excited the admiration of the Spaniards, who had no idea they were made so large and even from a single trunk. On reaching the high ground close by, they found it to be carefully cultivated to a considerable extent, and sud-

* Note XCII. Appendix.

denly found themselves in the midst of a large settlement of the natives. The surprise naturally caused the Indians to disperse as fast as they could, but the fear of some of the bolder among them was soon overcome by the repeated assurances of the Indians who had accompanied Columbus that no harm would be done to them. They proved to be a very timid people, and as poor as their countrymen, possessing only spears, which they used with great dexterity.

On returning to the boat, some of the party were sent by Columbus to examine what appeared to be a colony of bees in hives, which, from having seen a cake of wax in one of their cabins, the Admiral was induced to believe was the case. But it proved to be a deception, for, it is said, no bees are found in all the island. The party was accompanied to their boat by many of the natives, and on reaching it one of the Indians went into the water, and, placing his hands on the stern of the boat, delivered with much emphasis an oration to the rest, which of course was entirely unintelligible to the Spaniards. The whole, however, produced a good effect, and was considered by the Admiral to augur well for their visit. Occasionally, at different times, when the orator paused, or became impassioned in his delivery, all the natives joined with loud voices, at the same time throwing their arms above their heads. Matters were thus going off remarkably well, when suddenly the Indian who had accompanied Columbus showed signs of fear, having somehow concluded that they were not so peaceably inclined. The presence of mind possessed by Columbus soon restored the terrified native. Going

immediately to them, he obtained possession of their spears in exchange for beads, and it was soon evident that there were no real grounds for apprehension by the readiness with which they parted with them, and the confidence which they displayed. They are described as wearing handsome head-dresses of plumes and tufts of feathers, but wholly destitute of any other covering. Whether the address delivered by the native at the boat was really friendly or not could never be ascertained; but it was shrewdly suspected that the demonstrations of the power of the Spaniards produced signs of defiance in some of the rest that had been observed by the Indian with Columbus, and had thus occasioned this interruption of harmony. They certainly appeared to desire the departure of their visitors, who considered them a poor timid race, although they were very expert with their spears.

In the course of his exploration of this Eastern extremity of the island, Columbus had been much delayed by the weather. On the morning of the 4th of December, he took advantage of a light air and put to sea. Directing his course to the South-East, he passed several minor capes; and it was not until the following day that he gained the Eastern extremity of the island of Cuba, naming it Punta de Maici,* a point of land well known to seamen as Cape Maize. This celebrated cape is formed by a high bold promontory terminating the slope of the land, and naturally excited the admiration of Columbus. But it broke the enchantment of the

* Note XCIII. Appendix.

spell which had thus far tied him to the beautiful shores of Cuba. Can we be surprised at his feeling a kind of regret at leaving them. Can we wonder at the satisfaction with which he contemplated this beautiful land as he sailed along it, exulting in the success of his voyage, to which it contributed so largely, and at his dwelling with rapture on the sensation which his discovery would produce not only in Spain but throughout the known world. Considering the magnitude of these discoveries and the period at which they were made, Columbus might well be intoxicated with his success, and every allowance in fairness should be made for even the wildest fancies of this great benefactor of the human race.

The natives had continually been speaking of an island to the Eastward, that they called Babeque, which Columbus had determined to find out, and seeing the coast of Cuba trend Southerly and South-West from Cape Maize, he kept all he could to the Eastward. The land of the next island being high, was very soon discovered, and which, as soon as the natives on board beheld, they called it Bohio, making signs that it was inhabited by a warlike race of people, and that those of Cuba, or Juana, as Columbus here calls it in his Journal, were afraid of them, for they devoured their fellow men. This might have been really the impression of the Indians with Columbus, or it might have been a misconception of their meaning; but we shall soon see how far removed from cannibalism were the natives of this island, with whom Columbus and his people formed an affectionate friendship.

CHAPTER IV.

NICOLO MOLE—A RETROSPECT—PLEASING APPEARANCE OF THE ISLAND—ABSENCE OF THE NATIVES—COLUMBUS PROCEEDS TO THE EASTWARD—THE ISLAND NAMED ESPANOLA—CONCLUSION THAT IT WAS PART OF JAPAN—A CAPTIVE, AND THE CONSEQUENCES—COMMUNICATION WITH THE NATIVES ESTABLISHED.

THE little Niña (now the only companion of the Admiral in the Santa Maria) was directed to approach the island, or, as seamen would say, was sent ahead, to examine the coast; and soon found her way into the secure little harbour, well known in later times than those of Columbus as Nicolo Mole, situated at its Western extremity. A circumstance which occurred to the author at this place, in the year 1813, has left on his mind a lively remembrance of it. While the whole island was then torn by the intestine wars between the two chiefs Petion and Christophe, the *Barham*, a red sided line-of-battle ship had stood in and anchored in this harbour for the mere purpose of obtaining water, vegetables, &c. Some sable officers, fine intelligent men of Petion's service, who was in possession of the Western portion of the

island, had come on board officially, and were in confiding and friendly conversation on deck with some of the officers of the ship. As is usual with Her Majesty's ships when coming into harbour from sea, a small ensign (as the national flag carrying the Union is called) was displayed; we were no sooner at anchor than the signal man was directed to exchange it for the larger flag. It happened that one of the principal officers who had come on board saw the man hauling down this flag, when instantly suspicion flashed across his mind that we were enemies, and that he and his brother officers were prisoners. He started, and his companions seeing his embarrassment, in a moment betrayed by their looks what was passing in their minds. This could not pass unobserved by the officers of the ship, who, on ascertaining the cause of the alarm, soon quieted their fears, explaining that it was only their customary economy of the flags, and the appearance of the large ensign in the place of the small soon restored them to their former composure. Much allowance was to be made for them. They were engaged in a war of extermination, and their uniforms and accoutrements gave proof of the hardships and difficulties which they were continually undergoing. In fact, they were living in perpetual exposure to treachery, and suspicion was naturally uppermost in their minds.

As Columbus approached the island, the first appearance of it convinced him how different its general character was from that which he had just left. The summits of the land were rugged and precipitous; the face of the island was more open, its exposed parts were by no

means so thickly wooded as Cuba; nor were the trees so large as those to which he had been then accustomed. The whole face of the country, in the opinion of the Spaniards, more resembled that of Spain; even the air was considered more fresh and invigorating, in a word the whole scene before them infused among the crews a feeling of satisfaction from the mere recollections of their own homes.

The Santa Maria dropped her anchor in the harbour to which her consort had led her; but not a native was to be seen any where. The ground about the harbour particularly in one part presented a beautiful plain like a park, through which a small river found its way to the sea. The numerous canoes on the shore bore evidence of a large population; but all had vanished on the appearance of the ships. Here the natives which Columbus had with him expressed the greatest aversion to land, and entreated to be returned to their homes. The little progress made in attaining their language rendered the communication of their wishes difficult to be understood in all respects. But there could be no mistake about the one great object, that of a desire to be restored to their homes, and great must have been their disappointment at finding their entreaties unheeded. However, they were required for an important purpose, that of communicating the intentions of the Spaniards to their fellow countrymen, who through their language would be likely to be understood.

As it appeared that time would be required to establish a communication with the natives of Nicolo Mole, Columbus became impatient of delay. Being de-

sirous of exploring the coast of this new island, he prepared to leave the harbour immediately, though not without an intention of returning when he had become known to the people along the coast, although with the real motive of obtaining gold. With these intentions he left the harbour of Nicolo Mole on the 7th of December, and pursued his course to the Eastward, feasting his eyes on fresh discoveries as he sailed past several capes and intervening bays, and bestowing names on them in succession, in the course of which he found ample reason for retaining the favourable opinion he had formed of the island.

On the next day he took refuge from one of those furious Northerly winds common to the coast in the month of December; happily for him the island of Tortuga,* lying off it, served to afford him some protection from the sea. These Northerly gales, well known to West India navigators, are so violent that they are fatal to ships in many cases, and would assuredly have been so in that of Columbus had he not found timely refuge in a harbour which he named Puerto de la Concepcion.

With the appearance of the country and everything he saw he was again delighted; the singing of the birds was grateful music to his ears; but his first object was to establish communication with the natives. Their huts appeared to have been suddenly deserted, and it seemed as if he had arrived in a country from which the whole population had fled with precipitation. However,

* Note XCIV. Appendix.

they soon found them while some of his crew were looking about, others being busy with their nets, in which occupation they were abundantly successful.

The Spaniards had been struck by the general appearance of this island, and were reminded at once of their own country of Castile; the very fish that they caught were similar to those they had been accustomed to at home; the singing of the birds was also similar, as well as some trees and particular herbs found by them; and, as if to crown and complete the affinity which they saw in all around them to corresponding objects in their own country, while they lay in the Port of Concepcion on Sunday, the 9th of December, even the weather was observed to be exactly the same as that to which they had been accustomed at home. All these characteristics, with the beautiful open plains which lay before them presenting their usual inviting appearance, so entirely completed the illusion, that by common consent the island received the name of "Isla Española."

The natives which Columbus had taken on board spoke of Babeque continually, and asserted that this Island Bohio, where they were, was even larger than Cuba. They appeared, moreover, to have some knowledge of the existence of a country beyond it to the South, which they called Caritaba, considered by Las Casas to be the continent of South America, the coast of which they described as being of considerable extent, they further said that all the natives of these islands lived in perpetual terror of the people of Caniba.* Columbus, ever ready

* Note XCV.

to catch any information which in his opinion tended to confirm his theory, at once concluded that these Canibas could be no other than the subjects of the Emperor of Japan, whose territories must, therefore, be close to this island. He was the more confirmed in this conclusion by the facility with which his crew and their native companions comprehended each other, both parties having made some progress in understanding the other's language. But the confusion of erroneous ideas continued to prevail, and the deception to which he so fondly adhered became more firmly established in the mind of the Admiral.

As the wind would not permit the ship to proceed, Columbus remained weather-bound for several days in the same solitude too as he found on his arrival. On the 12th of December, the ceremony was performed of taking formal possession of the place. This was done in the usual manner by setting up a large cross on a conspicuous part of the shore. When this was concluded, two or three of the seamen who had rambled to a neighbouring height for the purpose of gratifying their curiosity, when they suddenly discovered a party of natives, to whom they immediately gave chase. The natives, however, were at home, and of course had the advantage over their pursuers, and by their swiftness and knowledge of their haunts, completely evaded them. But one unfortunate female, not so fleet as her companions, and not so successful, was overtaken and borne in triumph to the ship.

Columbus, as a matter of course, treated her with the utmost kindness, pacified her alarm, won her attention

with beads, bells, and rings, and causing her to be dressed out in finery, rejoiced at the opportunity which at length had arrived of opening that intercourse with the natives which he was so desirous of establishing.

As soon as the process of ornamenting the damsel was completed (at which the poor girl herself must have been greatly delighted), she was placed in the boat, and with some of the Cuba females, already in the ship, by way of interpreters, was taken on shore to relate to her friends all she had seen, and bear proof to them of how well she had been treated. The landing of course was to be made as the prelude to all this, but on reaching the shore she had no desire to leave the boat! Some of these Cuba ladies had been recognized by her as old friends whom she had met at the port of Mares, the place, it will be remembered from whence Columbus had sent his messengers into that island. And some of the Cuba people, of which the captive was one, had come in a canoe from that island, and she had fallen into the hands of the Spaniards as soon as they had landed. Still the incident, her reluctance to leave her friends, did not prevent Columbus from effecting his object.

On the next day matters were arranged on a more important scale for restoring the captive to her companions. A party of nine Spaniards, accompanied by the Indians as before, and the damsel, set out for the settlement, which was found to be above four leagues from the coast, and is considered by Navarrete to be that known by the name of Gros Morne. It was seated in a valley, and found to consist of about a thousand houses; but, to the great surprise of the party, it had

been deserted on their approach. While they persevered in their object, in which the lady herself assisted, by calling loudly to her countrymen that the party was not come from Cuba, the natives appeared by ones and twos, till at length, gaining confidence, they soon flocked round their visitors in considerable numbers. They were not fully assured, however, of their pacific intentions, until the female spread the intelligence among them as usual that their visitors had come from the skies. The conduct of these people, as soon as they heard this, and had become encouraged by seeing their lost companion among them, was all joy and delight. Their respect for the Spaniards was shown by approaching them with their hands on their heads; they offered them anything they possessed, trifling enough in value, but important to themselves, and were delighted at the Spaniards receiving the smallest article they had to give them, but especially when they found that the Admiral wished for a parrot!

In the midst of all this harmony a large crowd of people was seen approaching, and amongst them was the husband of the lady who had been the mainspring of the expedition, come to express his gratitude at the reception she had met with from the Spaniards. As might be expected, the joy of these simple minded people was unbounded, and their readiness to please their visitors was abundantly displayed. They were considered by the Spaniards a handsomer race of people than the natives of Cuba in general, especially the women, some of whom they observed to be scarcely a shade darker than themselves. This part of the island was found to be thickly dotted with houses, and intersected by roads and paths in all

directions, leading to each other, and evidently much frequented. The magnificent woods through which they passed, opening out here and there into clear cultivated spaces and occasionally intersected by small streams of water, delighted the Spaniards, who returned to Columbus attended by some of the natives, and gave him a gratifying account of all they had seen, and the complete success of their mission.

CHAPTER V.

COLUMBUS LEAVES CONCEPCION—THE SANTA MARIA THROGGED
BY THE NATIVES—PORT LA PAZ—AN UNINVITED VISITOR
—COLUMBUS ENRAPTURED WITH THE ISLAND—A DIGRES-
SION—GENEROSITY OF THE NATIVES—PREFERENCE OF
COLUMBUS FOR THE ISLAND OF ESPANOLA.

ON the 14th of December the ships were at length enabled to leave the port of Concepcion with the land wind, and shaped their course to the North-East. Scarcely, however, had they reached the island of Tortuga opposite, when the wind again became contrary, and Columbus thought it right to avail himself again of the shelter he had left. But on the next day he was more successful, and reached an inlet to the Eastward, into which he tracked his ships, and found a river in the interior of it, flowing from a beautiful valley. It reminded him of the Guadalquivir in Spain, and so much was he struck by the beauty of the scene, that he named it the Vale of Paradise.

Here he observed a great number of watch-towers, similar to those which had been seen by his people, from

which he inferred that the natives were in continual terror of their enemies the Caribs.

At midnight Columbus again availed himself of the land wind, and left his retreat. When about half way across to Tortuga, he met with a canoe in which was a single native, whom he received on board, treating him well, bestowing presents on him, and in the morning landing him at the nearest settlement, highly pleased with his good fortune. The man of course gave an account to his countrymen of the good treatment he had met with so unexpectedly ; this, with the former proceedings of Columbus in gaining the good opinion of the natives, completely established the character of the Spaniards among them ; and instead of being shunned, as at first, they found themselves courted by the natives as soon as they were seen. This was just what Columbus desired, and he had the pleasure of seeing the effects of his proceedings along the shore, which became gradually lined with people, all of them come to see the ships, or even to visit them if they could, and obtain similar favours. The Admiral had again anchored off a sandy beach, near which was a large settlement, which appeared to be new, for the houses were mostly of recent construction.

As might be expected in the present state of affairs, the ship was speedily surrounded by canoes with natives to the number of several hundred, and as many as could be well received were welcomed on board. Columbus had observed them closely, and was greatly pleased with that innocent confidence of manner and gentleness of behaviour which especially distinguished them. He says of them in his Journal, " I directed every one of them to

be treated with every kindness, for they are the most amiable people in the world ; and above all, because I hope in the Lord that your Highnesses will make them all good Christians, for they will all belong to you, as indeed I consider them to do already." Many of them had pieces of gold in the nose and ears, which they readily parted with for some trifle. All this intercourse with the natives, which was, perhaps, the greatest the Spaniards had yet maintained, suggested for the anchorage the name of Port de la Paz.* But more visitors were at hand. Intelligence was now received by Columbus that the King or Chief of the natives, whom they called Cacique, was on the beach ; on which the Admiral immediately sent him a present, which was received with becoming dignity. He was a young man, attended by elders, and on being given to understand by the bearers of the present that the ship had come in search of gold from a far distant land, he was understood to reply that they were very welcome, and that there was plenty of it in the island of Babeque, pointing in the direction leading to it, which could be reached in two days, and adding at the same time, that they were welcome to anything in his island.

This friendly communication, which for its interpretation must have depended on signs more than words, led to a visit by the Cacique in the evening of the 18th, accompanied by his attendants. Nothing could remove from their minds the impression that their visitors had come from the skies. He was received

* Note XCVI. Appendix.

with great respect, and was served with dinner after the Spanish fashion. It was the day of the festival of the Annunciation, and had been observed by the Spaniards by dressing the ship in flags, as usual on such occasions; the visit, however, is best told by the Admiral. He was dining when the Cacique and his attendants arrived, and describes it thus:—"Your Highnesses would be highly entertained with the respect paid to the Cacique by his people, notwithstanding every one is as naked as he was born. When he came on board, he found me at dinner in my cabin, and without the least hesitation came and seated himself by me at table. He would not let me rise, but made me continue dinner. And as he came into the cabin he motioned to his attendants to remain outside, an order which they obeyed implicitly, permitting two only to follow him, whose appearance indicated age, and whom we concluded were his counsellors. These two placed themselves at his feet, while the rest of his retinue seated themselves on the deck outside. When I offered him something to eat, he merely tasted, and then gave the rest to his two attendants, who partook of it also. The same in drinking. He merely sipped and passed the beverage to them. All this was done with much state and with very few words. They were particularly sedate, and anxiously watched the face of their Chief, speaking for him when they considered it necessary in anticipation of his wishes. After dinner an attendant brought him a girdle, handsomely made, similar to those of Castile, which he presented to me, with two pieces of wrought gold in the shape of thin plates, the source of which is I think not

far off. Perceiving that a covering on my bed had attracted his eye, I presented it to him, with some amber beads which I had round my neck, and a pair of red slippers, and also a vessel of rose water, with all of which he was highly gratified, and the only drawback to our mutual satisfaction was the want of readily comprehending each other. But I quite understood him to mean that everything in the island was at my service."

The Admiral then relates his showing him the flag containing the Royal Arms of Spain, and also some gold and silver Spanish coin, at all of which the young Chief appeared to marvel greatly; the Spaniards, in the narrow sphere of his comprehension, could have only come from the clouds, to which his idea of distant lands seemed naturally to point. The visit was concluded by the Cacique being landed in the boat of the ship under the military honour of a salute from the guns of the *Santa Maria*, a compliment which astonished the Cacique and his subjects even more than the first appearance of the ships themselves.

The visit, however, had been all that Columbus could have wished. He had seen proof of the amiable disposition of the people among whom he had been received with welcome from their Chief to the meanest among them, and had established that friendship with them which he had especially desired. The impression thus made was just what he wished, and he had the satisfaction of seeing that as far as the power of the Cacique extended, the best produce of the island was at his service. Even in the all-absorbing subject of gold, Columbus had reason to be satisfied with the result of his inquiries. An old man,

whose appearance lent credit to his statements, asserted that there were many islands in the vicinity, and some about a hundred leagues off, where it was plentiful; one of the islands he was believed to have said was entirely composed of it, an assertion which rather tended to weaken the former; but any intelligence from which the presence of gold might be inferred, was welcomed with avidity.

Leaving a large cross erected in the midst of this settlement, the Admiral departed from the Bay of La Paz on the 19th of December, and on the following day anchored in the Bay of Acul to the Eastward. This place appears to have immediately won the admiration of Columbus even still more than any of the preceding, and draws from him the following eulogium, which appears in his Journal. He says,—

“I have now been at sea twenty-three years with scarcely any intermission, and have seen the East and the West. I have known the cold of the North and the heat of the coasts of Guinea, with all their attractive scenes; but in all those parts I have never witnessed so much perfection in harbours as there is here.”

There is no doubt that both Española and Cuba boast some of the snuggest although not the largest harbours in the world, and the safety which the Admiral experienced in those he visited, along with the winning appearance of the country, as well as the entire submission of the natives, who here in particular had gained his esteem, was indeed sufficient to operate powerfully on a mind well inclined to be pleased with everything. He had enriched himself with discovery, the fame of which

would for ever be his; the lands he had discovered were of inestimable value, and he might well exult in contemplating them, their riches, and extent, in the same joyful spirit as he saw reflected from the faces of their happy inhabitants. Theirs, too, was a happiness formed after Nature's own model. No artificial want, no desire for luxuries of which they knew nothing, no refinement of enjoyment was wanted by them; the simple meal satisfied them, and the merry dance formed their principal delight. Such people must have been alluded to by some poet when he sang,—

“In our pleasant native plains,
Winged with bliss each moment flew,
Nature there inspired the strains,
Simple as the joys we knew.”

From the new anchorage, which the Admiral had now taken, neither settlement nor native was to be seen; on a boat being landed, however, a settlement was soon discovered on the coast from a neighbouring height to which the Admiral directed his course. On approaching the shore two natives were surprised on the beach, who attempted to make off immediately. However they were soon stopped, and a mutual good understanding quickly established between them and the Spaniards. This naturally led to the same interchange of kindness that had already been established in the Bay of La Paz, and Columbus finds the same good feeling among these people as among those he had left.

“They give us,” he says, “whatever we like to take from them, so generous are they; presenting us with

their little golden ornaments with as much readiness as they would a calabash of water, and it is easy to see when they do give anything that they do so with all their heart." The Admiral remarks also that they are superior to the natives of Juana* (Cuba) in their appearance; they kept their women concealed from the Spaniards, but among these there was no such reserve, and it was not possible, in the opinion of Columbus, to find a more generous and confiding race of people than they were.

Some canoes now made their appearance in the bay, that proved to have come from a neighbouring Chief, with a messenger bearing an invitation for Columbus to visit him. The messenger and his companions were well received, and as the Admiral was unable to comply immediately with the request, one of his officers accompanied the messenger back with an assurance that the Admiral would go and see him as soon as he could move his ships. The appearance of this party excited a kind of jealousy among the natives in the Bay of Acul, who even renewed their attentions to the Spaniards in the hope of inducing them to stay. The Santa Maria was indeed fairly beset by them. They came to the ship in their canoes, or swam out to her, (although she lay a good league from the shore,) and went on board at their pleasure. In short, thorough confidence and good feeling was established on both sides; there was nothing of reserve, a state of things that was just what Columbus desired. There is no doubt that of all the islands he had disco-

* Note XCVII. Appendix.

vered Española held the highest place in the Admiral's estimation; and no less so the people by whom it was inhabited, whose unreserved generosity and confiding behaviour towards him was well calculated to secure his esteem, and to exalt them in his opinion above their countrymen of Cuba.

CHAPTER VI.

PRESENT AND INVITATION TO COLUMBUS FROM THE CACIQUE GUACANAGARI—GENEROSITY OF THE NATIVES—THE ADMIRAL CONGRATULATES THE SPANISH SOVEREIGNS ON THEIR POSSESSIONS—THE SANTA MARIA CONTINUES HER VOYAGE AND IS WRECKED—PROMPT ASSISTANCE RENDERED BY GUACANAGARI—HIS SOLICITUDE FOR THE ADMIRAL'S MISFORTUNE—THE NATIVES ASTONISHED AT THE EFFECT OF FIRE-ARMS—PROSPECT OF A LARGE PORTION OF THE SPANIARDS REMAINING IN THE ISLAND—INTERCHANGE OF PRESENTS BETWEEN GUACANAGARI AND COLUMBUS—THE SPANIARDS ESTABLISHED IN THEIR PORT—COLUMBUS TAKES LEAVE OF GUACANAGARI.

GUACANAGARI, the Chief who had shown his anxiety to see Columbus as he passed his territory, by sending his messengers to him beforehand, occupies a prominent position in the events which follow. This guileless individual, fresh from Nature's own mould, and innocent of any unworthy design, as he proved himself in his dealing with the Spaniards, fills so prominent a place in those important matters now at hand, as to claim a special notice on his first appearance in the opening scene of the New World. Not that the mere act of inviting the Spaniards, as he did, may be of much importance, though he sent presents to prove the earnestness of his request, but his behaviour to them when in difficulty deserves some notice, that being a time when it is pretty well agreed real friends are tried. Columbus was intent

on finding the almost golden islands of which he had been told, when a canoe from this Chief, full of men, reached the Santa Maria. Some idea may be formed of the little progress which he and his people had made in the language of the natives, when we find, that after handing their present up to one of the boys of the ship, they spent the greater portion of the day before they could make the real object of their mission understood.

The present consisted of a girdle, which, in lieu of tassels, had a mask attached to it with two large ears, a tongue, and a nose, of beaten gold. This was well calculated to excite attention; but not even the Admiral's captive natives could interpret the words of the messengers, and it was only by signs that their real meaning could be guessed.

It was on Saturday, the 22nd of December that this took place, and, indeed, Columbus was induced to appropriate Sunday for the visit, not from any superstitious motive, but for a reason which well corresponds with the character of the Admiral. Remembering his mission,—the real object for which he believed himself to have been permitted by the Almighty to make his discoveries,—that of spreading the light of the Gospel among the people, what better day than Sunday can be devoted, he says in his Journal, to the great purpose on which he was sent.

The Admiral, as he expressed in those mystic letters which he had adopted for his cipher, and which appear to have vastly puzzled his commentators, felt the full force of his extraordinary position. In the foregoing simple observation he gave evidence of the feeling which

animated his conduct towards the people, to whom he believed himself to be the chosen messenger, which the Almighty Disposer of events was employing in the work of Christianizing in the New World. Feeling the force of such a position, as he evidently did, can we wonder at that air of deep and thoughtful gravity which he had assumed.

Before leaving the anchorage Columbus sent his secretary to take leave of the Chief of the settlement. In this visit so great was the desire displayed by the natives to possess some trifling gift from their visitors, that they would give whatever they possessed to obtain some piece of broken ware or glass, or anything that was of no value whatever. So great was the desire of these poor creatures to have something from people whom they believed to have come from the skies, that the Admiral found it necessary to issue an order requiring his men not to take anything from them without payment in return.

The Chief received the secretary with that kindness which belonged to his character, took him by the hand, and led him to his house, followed by a throng of people; presented him and his party with refreshment, and in the evening, when they returned on board, sent various presents to the Admiral, among which were some pieces of gold.

In the course of the day the ship had been surrounded by above one hundred and twenty canoes, each bringing some present, consisting of bread, fish, fresh water, fruit, and seeds in abundance, and a kind of spice, a little of which thrown into water renders it a very pleasant and wholesome beverage.

The weather permitting Columbus to depart, on the following morning, the 24th of December, the *Santa Maria* spread her sails to the land wind before sunrise: previous to this the Admiral, who had been making diligent inquiries about gold on the preceding day, had met with a native whose appearance won him as much as his accounts of the mines to which it was supposed he alluded. This person had brought with him a relative, and they were allowed by the Admiral to remain on board, in compliance with their wishes, preparatory to their showing him the mines. The word *Cibao* happening to be mentioned it was readily caught by Columbus, who, converting it into *Cipango*, supposed it to be another accidental confirmation of his belief that he alluded to the territories of the Emperor of Japan, which he had always considered he must be very near. Impressed with these ideas, and filled with the great importance of his discoveries, the Admiral again addresses his Sovereigns concerning them.

“Your Majesties,” he says, “may depend on it there is not in the whole world a better disposed or kinder race of people than these. Good reason have you for rejoicing in possessing them, for as soon as they become good Christians, and are instructed in the customs of your land, a better people or a finer territory there could not be, and both in such quantities as are far beyond my powers to say. And although I have written in superlative terms of *Juana*, which the people call *Cuba*, there is as much difference between it and *Española* as there is between night and day. Any one who has seen them would say the same. It is quite wonderful to see

the towns there are on this island, which they call Bohio, the people of which are singularly tractable, affectionate, and full of pleasant words; so unlike the others, who use threatening language to each other. Moreover, they are of finer stature, and not negroes. It is true that they paint themselves, some black, and some red, and other colours, according to taste, as protection from the sun. Their houses are handsome, and their management by a chief or judge, who presides over a whole town, is excellent, for they obey him implicitly, and treat him with great respect. And deservedly so, for they are men of few words, and very careful of their manner, giving their commands frequently by merely a wave of the hand, the meaning of which is understood and obeyed immediately."

The Santa Maria had been threading her way along the coast from the Bay of Acul to the Eastward, having experienced those light baffling winds so tantalizing to seamen, who are obliged to watch them as they change;—now apparently steady from one quarter, then dying away and springing up in another, and with so little strength, as to enable a ship to make but slow progress: they give besides much trouble, and this was perhaps one of the hardest day's work the Spaniards had experienced, for as each breeze succeeded the other the ship's sails had to be trimmed, thus producing an endless succession of hauling upon ropes. The navigation also was occasionally intricate; but the parts that were most dangerous had been seen from the boat which had conveyed the secretary to Guacanagari, and the observation of her crew was therefore of some ser-

vice in piloting the ship through them. Thus the most dangerous reefs had been avoided before night, when the weather became entirely calm, and there was not the slightest air to disturb the glassy smoothness of the water. But it had been a day of fatigue to all on board and to no one more so than to the Admiral, whose anxiety and necessary watchfulness had much tried his physical strength since he had left his anchorage off La Paz: the quiet calm which had now taken place leaving the ship motionless, as night drew on the crew were permitted to enjoy some rest.

It was near midnight on the 24th of December; all was quiet and repose on board the *Santa Maria*; the Admiral, wearied by watching on the previous night, as well as by the toil of the day, had retired to his cabin. The seaman whom he had left in charge of the helm, with strict injunctions not to leave it, heedless of his orders, abandoned it to the care of a boy, who equally regardless of the importance of his trust, like the rest of the seamen on watch, fell asleep also in this the fatal hour, in which the destruction of the ship was sealed. In the midst of the prevailing calm a treacherous current had been at work, and had drifted the *Santa Maria* upon a sand-bank,* so gently, that even the boy at the helm knew nothing of it until, aroused by the noise of the sea pressing against the side of the vessel, he found the rudder immovable, upon which he immediately called out lustily to his shipmates. The ship was now feeling the full effects of the current as it flowed against her

* Note XCVIII. Appendix.

broadside, forcing her still further on the bank, and causing her to heel gradually over, thereby increasing her danger.

The Admiral, with that vigorous rapidity which characterized him, was on deck in an instant; but it was too late, the catastrophe was complete, and he was the first to witness the unhappy consequences of a disobedience of his orders, and the result of his own absence. He directed the ship's masts to be cut away, and the boat to be launched from the poop, and the master to take it and lay out an anchor; but the boat's crew, instead of doing so, made off with her, to secure as they supposed their own safety on board the *Niña*, a short distance off. There, it is reported, they met with the reception they deserved; they were not permitted to go on board, and, with severe reprehension, were directed to follow the boat of the *Niña*, which had gone to the ship to give assistance.

In the meantime the Admiral on board had been doing all he could to lighten the ship, in hopes of seeing her float; but his efforts were of no avail. She was too deeply imbedded in the sand; the water had gained in the hold, and appeared to be falling with the tide alongside; finding how helpless was her condition, the safety of the crew became the next consideration; they were conveyed in the boats to the *Niña*, and thus the *Santa Maria*, which Columbus had hitherto conducted safely through every danger, was doomed to become a hopeless wreck. She was not, however, abandoned. Happily the land wind, which had sprung up, as it usually does, towards morning, enabled the *Niña* to lay by her

under sail, keeping as near as prudence dictated to the reef, of the extent of which they knew nothing.

The catastrophe occurred about a league and a half from the settlement of Guacanagari, to whom the Admiral next sent two of his principal officers, Diego de Arana and Pedro Gutierrez, with intelligence of what had happened, and requesting assistance. Never was request more readily complied with, and never in the first civilized countries were the dictates of the most unbounded hospitality more promptly exercised than by this excellent Chief towards Columbus in this his hour of need. Sympathizing with him even to tears, the worthy chief gave immediate directions for some large canoes to go to the wreck; and for the reception and safe-keeping of whatever could be recovered from her he assigned two unoccupied houses of his town. With such timely and effectual assistance in addition to the boats of the Spaniards the moveable contents of the Santa Maria were readily landed in safety, and not only that, but placed in security when on shore from the effects of the weather, for no other harm was likely to happen to them among the subjects of the worthy Chief Guacanagari.

Such behaviour as that of the natives of Española at such a period, might well draw from Columbus in his unfortunate condition the warmest expressions of his esteem. Well might the Admiral say, when writing of them, "They are a people who love without dissimulation; covetousness they know not, they are docile and kind-hearted; they do indeed love their neighbour as themselves, and their converse consists of sweet and

pleasant words flowing from smiling lips." But they had not been as yet contaminated by worldly influence.

With the assistance of the canoes sent by Guacanagari, everything was landed from the unfortunate wreck in the course of the following day, and deposited in the houses assigned by him for the purpose. And as the boats returned for their several loads, this excellent Chief showed his solicitude for the Admiral not only in seeing them carefully deposited, but sent to him not to give way to sorrow, for everything he had was his, anything the island afforded, and if he wanted more canoes he should have them.

As the early morning sun lighted the scene of the disaster of the preceding day, this amiable Chief was there in the Niña sympathizing even to tears with the Admiral on his misfortune, and offering everything he had for his consolation. He told him that if the two houses were not sufficient for his purpose, he should have more. Indeed he had nothing but what was at the Admiral's service. The generosity of this amiable and kind-hearted Chief knew no bounds, and his great anxiety now was that the Admiral should not be cast down at his misfortune. Some canoes chanced to come to the Niña with the view of obtaining hawk's bells, of which the natives were passionately fond, offering pieces of gold in exchange for them. The sight of the gold gratified Columbus, and Guacanagari perceiving that the Admiral's countenance was lighted up by it, assured him, by signs, that he knew where there was plenty of it, and that he should have as much as he desired.

After partaking of dinner, the Admiral accompanied

Guacanagari to his residence, where, in the evening, a collation was prepared, consisting of several kinds of yams, shrimps, and game, and their bread, which they called cassavi, some of which was pointed out to Columbus on trees close by the Chief's residence. Guacanagari had been presented by Columbus with a shirt and gloves, which latter pleased him much. It was observed that at his meal he displayed a cleanliness and particular neatness in his manner of feeding which evinced a superiority and dignity becoming his station, and scarcely to have been expected. The repast was by no means hurried over, and at its conclusion some herbs were brought to him with which he carefully rubbed his hands, another proof of his refinement. Allusion being accidentally made to the Caribs, who occasionally came with bows and arrows, committing rapine and plunder among them, the Admiral made him understand, by signs, that his Sovereigns would protect him and his people from them, and sent for a Turkish bow and an expert archer from among his crew to show off his dexterity. Guacanagari and his subjects were amazed at his skill; but in order still more to surprise the island Chief and his simple-minded people, the Admiral had directed a lombard gun and a musketoon to be brought that they might see the effects of their shot. On the first discharge, so great was the dismay of the islanders, that they fell on their faces to the ground. The report of the piece was unexpected, and Columbus had good reason to be satisfied from its effect that he had inspired the Chief and his people with a profound veneration for the power which he possessed of defending them from the marauding Caribs.

In the course of the evening Guacanagari presented the Admiral with a large mask and some trifling articles in parts of which were pieces of gold. To the eyes of Columbus this was the first attraction at all times, and it was with much satisfaction that the mask was found to have large pieces of the precious metal inserted for the ears and eyes, as well as the toys which Guacanagari had placed round his neck.

The harmony which was now established between himself and his amiable friend Guacanagari, as well as the kind and benevolent treatment which he and his people received from every one, cheered the spirits of Columbus, wearied as he had been by constant watchfulness, and depressed by his recent misfortune. He began to think that the loss he had sustained would after all prove to be for his benefit, and came to the conclusion that the wreck of his ship at this place was intended by Providence in order that he should establish a settlement there. Indeed, the same thoughts seemed to have been entertained by his people, for the little *Niña* with her own crew was ill-calculated to receive on board the crew of Columbus, consisting of about fifty persons, with all the stores that had been recovered from her, and the natives which the Admiral had carried off. The forming a settlement to relieve the *Niña* seemed to be the more necessary from the fact that the *Pinta* had deserted him and might even get home before him.

Hence it seems to have become the general idea that a portion of the Spaniards must remain on the island, and a letter of Columbus in his Journal accordingly expresses these intentions. "There are so many advan-

tages here," he says, "that after all the disaster which has happened to me will prove to be a fortunate one; for it is certain that had not the ship been lost I should never have come here, for the place where I am is within a large bay (the Bay of Acul) and beset with reefs of rock. Nor if I had wished to leave my men in these parts, should I have been able to find a place so desirable for them. Nor could I have left them so well supplied with provision or ammunition, or the means for their protection. Many of my crew have been entreating me to leave them here, and I have therefore determined that a strong fort shall be constructed for them. Not that such a step is absolutely necessary to protect them from these people, for those which I have could conquer the whole island, which is larger than Portugal, and the number of the population is double of that country, but they are all naked, unwarlike, and without any means of defence. Yet it is right that a fort should be constructed, as the distance they will be left from your Highnesses is very great; also that these natives may know the extent of your power, and that they may not only obey your people from love, but from fear also of what they can accomplish. So the fort shall be built forthwith, and stored with provision and wine for above a year, and with seeds also. And the boat of the ship shall be left with a caulker, a carpenter, a gunner, and a cooper, and as many of the men who may desire to stay, and who will thus have ample opportunity to work in the mines where gold is reported to be found. Thus everything has conspired to produce this result, for when the ship grounded she did it so gently that it

was scarcely felt by any one, nor was there any wave or wind to produce it."

Such was the substance of the argument with which Columbus consoled himself in announcing his intentions to his Sovereigns of forming his first settlement in the land which he had discovered, a measure to which the loss of his ship, as has been seen, entirely gave rise. And he also determined to call it *La Navidad*, (The Nativity,) as it was on Christmas Day, 1492, that he was wrecked. Moreover, in confirmation of the justness of his intention, and that it was the will of Providence that things should turn out so, he adds, "but for the disobedience of my orders by the master and crew in not laying an anchor astern, the ship would have been saved, and we should never have known this land; for we were always moving onward, discovering as much as we could, and not stopping any where except by reason of foul winds. The ship, moreover, was heavy and unwieldy, and to bring such a vessel from Palos was not intended by the Sovereigns, who considered that one fit for the service for which she was destined would have been provided. But this was not done." The Admiral concludes his remarks on the subject by adding, that not a compass was lost, not a plank, nor a nail, for the vessel remained together, and everything was safely landed; and he trusted in Providence that he should return here from Castile and find a ton of gold collected in the fort, along with spices in such a quantity that within three years their Majesties might be enabled with that supply to achieve the capture of the Holy Sepulchre, for, he adds, "I protested to your Highnesses that all the produce

of my enterprise should be devoted to the conquest of Jerusalem, notwithstanding your Highnesses smiled at my assertion, and were pleased to observe that independently of my success such was your desire."

It was thus that Columbus complacently satisfied himself with his plans and their intended results. Although overtaken by misfortune at the most important part of his voyage, deserted by one of his vessels, and losing his principal officer as he is about to sail on his return, he yet finds consolation in the event; it was intended for his benefit, and he forms such a plan in consequence as, should it succeed, would enable him to achieve the design which was nearest his heart, that of conquering Jerusalem. An admirable specimen this of the vanity of man! He did return indeed, but instead of a ton of gold he found his fort destroyed, and not one of the people he had left behind remaining alive to tell the history of those follies by which they had fallen a prey to the people who were at war with Guacanagari.

On the next day, the 27th of December, at sunrise, the King visited Columbus, who communicated to him the resolution he had formed of leaving behind some of his people for his protection, at which Guacanagari was much pleased. This amiable Chief told him that he had sent for gold, and that he should be covered with it before he sailed. At the same time intelligence was brought to the Admiral that the *Pinta* had been seen in an inlet near the Eastern Cape of the island, on which Guacanagari, at the request of Columbus, sent a canoe with a letter to Pinzon requesting his return, and informing him of the loss of the *Santa Maria*. In the

meantime vigorous measures were taken in constructing the fort, for Columbus had already felt from the absence of Pinzon how necessary it was to hasten his departure for Spain, lest he should arrive before him with the intelligence of his discoveries; and his resolve was the more necessary, when he found that the canoe returned without having found the *Pinta*.

The promise of Guacanagari that the Admiral should have abundance of gold, appeared to be gradually fulfilling, for piece after piece was brought to him, and one day on landing as usual to dine with Guacanagari, he found the Chief ready to receive him, and taking the Admiral to his residence, he found a carpet spread and chairs placed, in one of which he seated Columbus. Then taking off his crown he placed it on the Admiral's head: on which the Admiral took a handsome necklace from his own neck and placed it on that of Guacanagari, and happening to be wearing a very handsome cloak, he also gave that to the Chief, and sent for a pair of Spanish boots, at the same time presenting him with a large silver ring which he was accustomed to wear. This interchange of presents delighted Guacanagari, and no less so the Admiral, the Chief in the end presenting him with two large lumps of gold.

On the return of the messenger who had been sent to look for the *Pinta*, the Indians who had accompanied him spoke of gold they had seen worn by the people on the islands they had visited; and this being reported to Columbus, he concluded that Guacanagari took care that it should all come to him, that it might pass through his hands to the Admiral.

Returning in the evening with Yanez Pinzon, the Admiral deplored the absence of the *Pinta*, and expressed his desire of leaving as soon as possible. Pinzon, desirous of making the most of their discoveries, assured the Admiral that he had seen rhubarb growing on an island not far distant from them, (*Amiga*,) and obtained permission to send and procure some. Although Columbus was nearly ready for his departure in the *Niña*, still it was desirable to ascertain whether the account of the rhubarb was true, and a boat was accordingly sent to the islet *Amiga*, and returned with a basketful of some root, which was preserved with much satisfaction as a specimen of the island produce for presentation to the Sovereigns. Columbus much hoped to have found this medicinal root among the produce of the island, the supply of it coming always from the East. Pinzon, however, was mistaken, as the root is entirely unknown as indigenous to America.

As the time of his departure was at hand, the Admiral considered it would be politic to make an exhibition of the warlike capabilities of the Spaniards whom he intended to leave in possession of the fort. And accordingly, having landed to take leave of *Guacanagari*, the party went through some skirmishing evolutions, and fired a lombard over the ship as she lay, the shot (of stone) from which went far over her into the sea, to the astonishment of the Chief and his people. They then repaired to his residence, where the officers who were to be left were severally presented to *Guacanagari*. These were *Diego de Arana*, *Piedro Gutierrez*, and *Rodrigo Escovido*, making, with the party left, thirty-nine per-

sons, among whom were the carpenter, the caulker and gunner, the cooper, the doctor, and a tailor, all of whom were besides accustomed to the sea. They were supplied with a stock of biscuit for one year, as well as wine, and the boat of the ship, besides all the merchandise that remained, in order that they might exchange it for gold, a large store of which by this means and by working at mines, Columbus expected to find accumulated on his return. Guacanagari evinced great sorrow at parting from Columbus, as if anticipating the evil to come; but at the same time was assured of the protection he had from the Caribs in the presence of the Spaniards. Had they behaved with common discretion, they would no doubt have been able to resist their attacks; but no sooner had the Admiral departed, than they gave way to licentious habits, quarrelled among each other, and fell victims in the midst of their imagined security to the warlike natives of the interior, those Caribs of whom Guacanagari lived in perpetual fear.

The Admiral took leave of his party, none of whom he was destined ever to see alive again, and with tears the affectionate Chief Guacanagari bade him a reluctant farewell. A mutual friendship on both sides had been established between him and Columbus. On the part of Guacanagari a feeling of safety had been established by the presence of the Admiral. He had observed the respect which was paid to him by his men, and was accustomed to look on him as a powerful friend, the loss of whom was greater than any he had yet experienced.

CHAPTER VII.

COLUMBUS LEAVES LA NAVIDAD AND CONTINUES HIS EASTERN ROUTE—IS REJOINED BY THE PINTA—ANCHORS IN THE BAY OF MONTE CHRISTI—CONTINUES HIS VOYAGE—ARRIVES IN THE BAY OF SAMANA—ASTROLOGICAL PREDICTIONS—COLUMBUS IS VISITED BY A NATIVE—UNFAVOURABLE TERMINATION OF A BARTER WITH THE ISLANDERS—THEIR GENEROUS CHARACTER—GULF WEED.

It was not until Friday, the fourth of January, that Columbus was enabled to take his departure from La Navidad, in his only remaining vessel the little lateen-rigged *Niña*, from whence he coasted the island to the Eastward, naming the remarkable mountain called Monte Christi, and looking closely as he proceeded among the rocky islets for his truant companion the *Pinta*. Landing on one of these, he found that it had been used as a fishing station by the natives. Here also the Admiral recognized some coloured stones,* similar to those he had observed at San Salvador, and which he considered well adapted for ecclesiastical buildings; he alludes in his Journal to the beautiful appearance of the shore,

* Note XCIX.

backed by a series of hills gradually rising above each other, as their distance from it increased, with a range of magnificent mountains beyond them curving away to the South-East, that reminded him of the Sierra of Cordova.

Leaving his anchorage here the next morning, the Admiral continued to the Eastward; but at noon was much disappointed to find the wind setting dead against him, and blowing a strong breeze. As a compensation, however, for this, his lost companion the *Pinta* was at hand. The look out man aloft, whose eye was ever on the watch for rocks while the vessel was under sail, and which seems to have been the secret of that safety which had attended Columbus on many a former occasion, reported the *Pinta* coming down to them under all sail. On which the Admiral lay by, and as she neared they both stood in shore, and took up an anchorage under Monte Christi. He had severely felt the absence of this vessel, lamenting that he was thereby prevented from closing with the island as he had been accustomed to do. He could no longer explore the bays, or approach boldly the salient points of the shore as he sailed past them, since to do so without the presence of a companion would be to risk the loss of all on some treacherous rock that might lie in his way. And thus the Admiral, cautious as he always had been, was compelled to be still more so now, and to keep entirely aloof from the shore.

Alonzo Pinzon soon made his appearance on board the *Niña*, and offered various excuses for having separated himself from the Admiral, who was sufficiently

aware of the nature of his position to see the policy of dissimulating his real sentiments. The Pinzons had largely contributed to the adventure, and were highly esteemed by the crews, and no one knew better than Columbus the propriety of not exercising an authority which he might not be able to support. He was therefore contented to receive the assurances of Alonzo Pinzon that he had left him against his inclination, although he knew that Pinzon was not sorry to avail himself of the superior sailing qualities of the *Pinta* to reach an island of which he had received information concerning the gold that was to be found there from an Indian who had been sent to him by Columbus. Pinzon soon informed the Admiral that the account of the Indian was not correct, adding that he went from thence to the coast of Española and had stopped about fifteen leagues from La Navidad, and had left his anchorage when the canoe from Guacanagari had come after him: that he had learnt that beyond the island of Juana there was another large one said to abound in gold, and called by the natives "Jamaïye (Jamaica).

The *Pinta* underwent a refit in the Bay of Monte Christi, where the two vessels had anchored near the Rio del Oro, the name given to it by Columbus, who mentions it as being scarcely so large as the Guadalquivir at Cordoba.

The days of mermaids* are gone by, but in relating the progress of Columbus from his own notes, in this first voyage, the circumstance of seeing three that ap-

* Note C. Appendix.

pears in his Journal must be duly noticed here. Coeval with the establishment of navigation were these Sirens of the sea, whose earliest legendary haunt was the classic shores of the Mediterranean, to which Columbus was accustomed, and from whence he might have derived the belief in their existence. We must not omit however to do our Admiral the justice of saying that he did not consider the mermaids by any means so handsome as they had been represented to him.

At midnight of the 9th of January Columbus made sail from the Bay of Monte Christi, having replenished his stock of water from the Rio del Oro, and continued coasting the island to the East-North-East, with somewhat more confidence than when he sailed from La Navidad. Monte de Plata, another conspicuous mountain, received its name from its summit being covered with a few fleecy white clouds, wearing the appearance of a sheet of silver. The two vessels made good progress in the course of the day, and Columbus being desirous of returning to Spain, they continued their Eastern route, and on the following day made the land which is now known as the Isthmus of Samana. A remarkably bold headland, which terminates a series of lofty hills, was named El Cabo Enamorado, and as they passed round it the spacious Bay of Samana opened, at the entrance of which the vessels came to an anchor.

A boat was sent in to look for water and to communicate with the natives if any could be found. They had observed the vessels, but as the boat approached the shore had concealed themselves. Meanwhile Columbus was speculating whether the peninsula he had sailed

along was an island, as the land being very low at the western end of it, gave it much that appearance. But he had another motive in seeking a harbour now, for it appears by his Journal that he was anticipating an eclipse of the sun, as well as the opposition of Jupiter and the conjunction of Mercury, from which, by the rules of astrology, he was led to expect violent gales of wind in the old world! And as everything was new and as yet unknown concerning these matters in the new world, the Admiral evinced his usual sagacity in making for a harbour in case the predictions of the astrologers should prove true. The circumstance serves to show the prudence and forethought of the Admiral, and to justify his choice of the locality, for although the anchorage at the entrance of the bay is open and exposed, he would have found ample shelter further in had he required it. To such foresight and vigilance on the part of Columbus may be attributed the safe return of his two vessels, considering the danger to which they were continually exposed in an unknown navigation, and from the severities of weather which they had often to encounter.

On the next day the boat was sent to a fine beach near the vessel in quest of vegetables. On reaching the shore a far different reception awaited the crew to any that they had hitherto experienced. In the other islands which they had visited, they were welcomed without suspicion, and allowed to do what they pleased. But here the case proved different. The shore, which, as they approached it, appeared to be unoccupied by natives, was suddenly thronged by them when they

landed. They had concealed themselves, and were ready for the Spaniards in a manner which they never imagined, with bows bent and arrows ready on the string.

The Spaniards, however, although armed, resorted to peaceable manœuvring, and a parley was established; the result of which was, a little trading for some of the bows and arrows that had been so threatening, and one native had even the courage to trust himself to be taken on board to see the Admiral. He was of course kindly received, for Columbus well knew the good effects of first impressions, and accordingly treated him in a friendly and conciliatory manner. He was immediately presented with something to eat, and pieces of green and red cloth, as well as some beads were given to him. His bearing was bold and confiding, as might be expected from one who had thus placed himself entirely in the power of strangers. Like his companions on shore, his person was painted black, the cheeks also; and he wore a head-dress of parrot's feathers, from which depended behind, gracefully tied together, a large quantity of hair. Information was obtained from him concerning gold, naturally the first inquiry, of which he gave great hopes. The Admiral supposing him to be a Carib Indian, made inquiries concerning those people, and learnt that they came from islands in the South-East, and occasionally visited them for plunder, devouring the captives which they carried off. In some places the Admiral had found they were called Caniba and in others Carib. With the assurance from the Admiral that all the gold

would be purchased that he or his companions would bring to the Niña, the boat conveyed him to the shore.

On arriving at the beach, some scores of the natives, who had been on the watch, were seen concealed behind some trees, and immediately advanced to the Spaniards, each carrying a bow ready for use; but by signs they were induced to lay them aside, and a barter commenced as before in compliance with the express desire of the Admiral. They had been well cautioned by him against surprise, and at the same time against giving offence. A little traffic for arrows was then commenced, when on a sudden the Indians seized their bows and threatened the Spaniards with their arrows on the string ready for discharge. Seeing their determined attitude, the Spaniards rushed on them, on which the Indians turned and fled; one having received a wound from a Spanish knife behind, and another in the breast,—and thus was the first blood shed by Europeans in the New World. The Spaniards mustered seven and the Indians about three or four times that number; but they fled as fast as they could, leaving behind them their bows and arrows, and thus the affair ended; the pilot, who had charge of the boat, not permitting his people to follow them.

On reaching their ship the Spaniards made out the Indians to be the aggressors, and they were at once considered to belong to the Caribs, of whose ferocious character Columbus had been already informed. It seems likely that some difference of opinion in the course of the barter that had been going forward might have led the Spaniards to trespass too much on the patience of the natives, who were not a people to be thus treated,

when all further dealings were thus suddenly broken off. Notwithstanding this outbreak, a party of these Indians went on board the *Niña* the next day, thus evincing a boldness of character along with a generosity of disposition that was scarcely to be expected, and in consequence a friendly feeling on both sides was quickly established by means of kind words and presents. The bows used by them proved to be very strong, and the arrows, which they discharged with considerable force, were about a yard long, very straight, and armed at the end with a piece of hard wood pointed or terminated by the tooth of a fish.

The visitors were served with plenty of biscuit and honey, and each of them, as well as their Chief who had accompanied them, was presented with some red cloth. In return for this, they promised to bring gold, an abundance of which they said was to be obtained in Carib and Mantinimo, after a short interview they were landed. The former place was understood by Columbus to signify the island of Porto Rico to the eastward; but as the people there were stated to be cannibals, it would be difficult to be obtained. The island could be seen from Samana, off which Columbus was at anchor, and he determined to pay it a visit, as it lay in his way.

As to Mantinimo, it was reported, as well as could be made out, to be inhabited only by women; but so absurd a statement could only be credited by one already impressed with a belief in the possibility of such a case; for as Columbus had read such an account in the travels of the celebrated Marco Polo, he was quite

ready to receive the story, especially as it confirmed his opinion that he was near the dominions of the Great Khan.

The next day a boat was sent ashore, and faithful to the promise that had been made, the king though not himself present had sent his crown of gold to Columbus, and many of the natives brought cotton, as well as bread and bows and arrows, for barter, and the same friendly dealing went on as before. In the course of the day, four fine young natives went off in the boat, and gave the Admiral so good an account of the islands to the eastward, that he seems to have soon determined on keeping them on board, apparently with the view of taking them, but in reality to carry them off to Spain as good specimens of the Caribs!

It appeared to the Spaniards in their visits to the shore that abundance of cotton was grown on the island, and that gold and copper were also plentiful. The Admiral notices in his Journal the abundance of weed that he found in the bay, similar to that which he had met on his outward voyage; from which circumstance he draws the extraordinary conclusion that these islands must be less than 400 leagues from the Canaries; but is of opinion that the weed grows on banks under water. The place of the origin of the Gulf weed has long remained a question among naturalists; but it certainly seems more likely to be carried away from the shores of the islands and cays of the West Indies by the force of the equatorial current than to be carried there from the Atlantic Ocean by it. The opinion of Columbus concerning the distance of the island from the Canaries,

is another instance of the vague and uncertain mode of reckoning in those early days of navigation, that distance being about 1000 instead of 400 leagues as he considered it, at least so it is stated in his Journal; but Columbus has in all probability been misrepresented here.

CHAPTER VIII.

COLUMBUS ABANDONS FURTHER DISCOVERY AND MAKES SAIL TO THE NORTHWARD TO RETURN TO SPAIN—DELAYED BY THE BAD SAILING OF THE PINTA—EARLY AND MODERN MODES OF NAVIGATION—THE SHIPS EXPERIENCE BAD WEATHER—A PILGRIMAGE PROMISED—A NAUTICAL LOTTERY—SERIOUS REFLECTIONS ON THE THREATENED LOSS OF THE VESSELS—THE SCHEME OF COMMITTING INFORMATION TO THE CARE OF THE WAVES FIRST ADOPTED BY COLUMBUS.

ON the following day, the 16th of January, once more the little vessels tripped their anchors, and made sail from the island with the land breeze of the early morning, Columbus having named the bay in which he had anchored, in memory of the adventure with the natives, El Golfo de las Flechas. The Admiral directed his course to the Northward of East, with the view of approaching the Carib Isle, the people of which it appeared were held in great terror among the other islands. Their canoes were said to be so numerous and large that they overran the sea, and the people so ferocious that they devoured their prisoners. Having sailed sixty-four miles, they found they were at no great distance from the island, as it was pointed to by the Indians, and the course was shaped for it. The vessels had run about

two leagues on this course, when the wind freshened up against them, and being fair for the Northward and Eastward, allowed them to shape their course for Spain. The further exploration of the island was therefore finally abandoned, much to the satisfaction of the crews of both the vessels. The Admiral indeed had been induced to adopt this measure from certain unequivocal signs of disapprobation amongst them. He knew moreover that the vessels had been found to be in a very leaky condition while in the bay they had just left, and had required all the attention that could be given to their defects. Under such circumstances, the prospect of another tedious delay among the islands was by no means palatable. The Admiral, with his usual discrimination, was well aware of his peculiar position. The loss of his ship had weakened his power, and considering the relation of the Pinzons in respect to the vessels as well as the feelings of the crews towards them, along with the leaky condition of the vessels themselves, it was wise not to try their powers of endurance further, but better to shape a course at once for Spain; and, accordingly, they steered North-East by East, with a fresh breeze and fine weather.

There were some, however, with Columbus who could scarcely share in the joy produced by this change in the vessel's course, which, instead of taking them to Porto Rico, was to transport them far from their homes by a tedious and to them distressing voyage. The Indian prisoners pointed in vain to the island as the vessels left it, and although the intention of the Admiral to take them to Europe might be unknown to them, their immediate

hopes of escape were now at an end. Instead of this, a voyage of endurance and suffering was before them of which they could have no conception, and this too in a small leaky vessel, rendering their privations still more severe. Columbus had turned a deaf ear to all their professed knowledge of the pilotage; and although the various islands they reported were at no great distance to the South-East, his mind was made up; he had good reasons for steering homewards. Such was the state of feeling on board the *Niña*; one party rejoicing and another deploring their condition, when the last cape of the newly discovered world, called by Columbus Cape San Theramo, was lost to view, bearing West, sixteen leagues.

The Admiral now made the best of his way to the North-East, by which course the progress of a few days was marked by a decided change of climate and longer nights. On the 23rd, when four or five degrees to the South-East of Bermuda, the vessels were becalmed, affording an opportunity for the Indians to enjoy the luxury of a bath, from which they had been long debarred. The sailing of the *Pinta*, which had hitherto been so good, now proved a source of delay, as she could not keep up with her consort the *Niña*. From the defectiveness of *her* mizen-mast she was unable to carry sail on it, which, when sailing by the wind, is well known by seamen to be very necessary. The consequence of this was, that she was leewardly, and lost all her former good character, the Admiral having frequently to wait for her. The circumstance vexed Columbus, who was so anxious to get forward, and occasioned the observation

in his Journal, that he would have done better in replacing his mizen-mast with a new one, when he left him, instead of filling his ship with gold. The remark was very just. The Admiral, among other troubles, must have had a difficult part to play in managing the second in command, owing to his peculiar position in reference to the voyage.

The vessels notwithstanding made very fair progress to the North-East. On the 3rd of February it was observed that the Pole-star was about as high as it was usually seen at Cape St. Vincent, although there was too much motion in the vessel from the boisterous state of the sea to permit Columbus to use his astrolabe. But the apparent height of the star was sufficient to authorize Columbus to alter the vessels' course to the Eastward. The uninitiated sailor may thus see by what simple means navigation can be effected; but will wonder, perhaps, why this was so. The pole-star is one of the seaman's best friends, and was more particularly so in ancient times than in modern, when the principal stars were not so well known to him as they are now. At all times when he could measure the altitude of the pole-star, he knew his latitude sufficiently correct for the purposes of navigation in his day. It is thus that the wisdom of the Creator leaves to the ingenuity of man to profit by his powers of reason. To common observation the sun, the moon, and stars, are subjects of perpetual admiration and wonder. But to the seaman they are more than this. They are the means by which a munificent Creator enables him to know his position on the surface of the globe when he has no land to guide him,

and enables him to make his way direct to his desired haven. It has been said that the invention of the astrolabe was one of the inciting causes that urged Columbus to make his voyage, as it afforded him the means of obtaining astronomical observations. But we here see how little this availed him. The height of the well known star appeared to be the same as that when they had seen it at home, and their latitude must therefore be the same. The nautical reader, who is at home with these matters, will here perceive the method adopted by the navigators of the distant period of Columbus in making a passage. The Admiral had run through the Trades, and attained the latitude of his destination, which he knew by the appearance of the height of the pole-star, and he immediately shapes his course to run down his longitude. The same method as that adopted by Columbus is frequently followed even in modern times.

On the 8th of February the pilots considered the vessels were to the South of the Azores, with Madeira to the East of them; and on the 10th they believed that they had passed the island; but Columbus disagreed with them by a hundred leagues, and made the island of Flores, one of the Western islands of the Azores, to be then due North of them. They were now, however, in a part of the Atlantic celebrated for its stormy character, and at a time of the year when bad weather might be expected. The wind had been gradually increasing, and on the 14th the ships were overtaken by one of those severe storms so common in that part, before which they began to run to the North-east, and in the night which followed, notwithstanding the signal lights of the Admi-

ral which the *Pinta* had answered, the two vessels parted company, she was no where to be seen by the Admiral in the morning. A cross sea was up, which threatened to overwhelm the little *Niña*. The storm continued with unabated fury through the day, and the Admiral became apprehensive that his diminutive barque, shattered as she was and leaky withal, could not possibly survive it. She moreover required ballast, which the Admiral intended to have taken on board at the island of Mugerres, (Porto Rico,) for she had now become considerably lightened by the consumption of provision and water. In the fine weather experienced among the islands, such a state of things was of little consequence. But in the boisterous Atlantic, and in the storm that was now raging, the matter was different; the light condition of the vessel increased her danger.

In this very serious condition, aid was implored from above; and trusting in the mercy of Providence, a vow was made that in the event of the vessel surviving the storm, a pilgrimage in honour of Santa Maria de Guadalupe (with a taper formed of five pounds of wax) should be made at the first land where they might arrive. The Admiral then directed as many beans to be deposited in a hat as there were persons in the vessel, on one of which a cross was marked with a knife. Each person then was to take a bean from the hat, and he who drew the marked bean was to be responsible for the expense of the pilgrimage. The first person who drew a bean was the Admiral himself, and as it proved to be the marked bean, he immediately took on himself the obligation which had been imposed.

The nautical reader will perhaps recognize in this curious proceeding the well known vegetable, with which he may have been well acquainted in tropical climates, commonly called calavanzas; but perhaps is not aware that it had ever been employed for the above purpose by Columbus. The fact is curious, and affords an instance of the simple means that are used to effect an important purpose on momentous occasions.

There was another similar process to be performed for another pilgrimage to Santa Maria de Loreto, which fell to one of the seamen of St. Mary's, named Pedro de Villa, and of which the Admiral relieved him by taking it on himself. Nor was this all, for the same operation had to be performed to determine who should watch a whole day and night and say a mass in honour of Santa Clara de Moguer; and it has been remarked as an extraordinary dispensation of Providence, that these lots should successively fall on Columbus in punishment for having brought away from their homes the Indians which he had on board. These ceremonies being concluded, it was decided, that should the vessel outlive the storm that was raging, they would all walk in procession in their shirts to any chapel they could find that was dedicated to the Virgin.

The reader who has experienced a storm in the Atlantic, when even large ships have lost sight of each other in the trough of the wave, may picture to himself the condition of those on board the little old fashioned crazy barque in which these ceremonies were going forward. The seaman will marvel that such a vessel could outlive the storm, and will readily give that credit to

Columbus for good seamanship to which he was entitled.

The Admiral had now recourse to filling his casks with salt water for ballast, and made the best he could of his difficulties. He moreover proceeded to commit to paper as well as he could the reasons on which he founded all his hopes that a merciful Providence would not allow the vessel to perish in the storm. First, she was the bearer of the most important intelligence in the discovery of a new world, securing large possessions to his Sovereigns, of which he had ample proof in the Indians he had on board. And when he reflected on the dangers which he had escaped, and the difficulties which by the blessing of Providence he had surmounted, the circumstances under which he was placed, and the lives of the numerous persons he had on board, who looked to him for their safety, he could not believe that the same Power which had preserved him hitherto, which had protected him through all his troubles in Castile, which had ministered to all his wants, and enabled him to overcome all the obstacles to his voyage now so nearly concluded, would forsake him in this hour of danger! He recalled, moreover, the scenes of his outward voyage, when his crew were ready to take revenge on him in their disappointment, and when he was saved only by the interposition of Providence, who had shown him so many mercies, and therefore attributed all his fears to his want of confidence in a merciful Saviour. All these considerations occupied the mind of Columbus while the gale was yet furiously raging. They are described in his Journal as pressing heavily on his spirits.

and were aggravated when he reflected on the forlorn condition of his two sons at Cordova, who in the case of his death would be left orphans on the world, while the Sovereigns would be ignorant of the services which their father had rendered to them and the great cause of Christianity.

Such were the distressing reflections which oppressed the mind of Columbus during the two days in which the gale continued. Under the influence of these and in order to avail himself of the only chance left him of making known his discoveries in case the vessel should founder, he had recourse to an expedient which is perhaps the first of its kind on record, a modification of which has become commonly adopted since, as will be seen by the Bottle Chart of the Atlantic, published in the "Nautical Magazine" for November, 1852. He wrote on a piece of parchment the principal particulars of his voyage and the discoveries he had made, and enveloping it in a cake of wax, he placed it in a barrel, and closing it so that the water should not enter, committed it to the waves. It is related that the whole of this process was performed entirely by himself, the crew considering the Admiral to be thus alone engaged in some mysterious ceremony with which they were unacquainted. The circumstance has suggested the following lines, after those of the Spanish poet Valdes, given by Navarrete.

See the bold Chieftain by the helm reclined ;
What anxious thoughts are passing in his mind !
Wearied and weather-worn, yet not in vain,
He calmly contemplates the foam-clad main :
The storm may rage, the angry billows roar,
He dreams of children, home, his friends, yet more
Than these, the new discovered shore !

Shall all be lost engulfed in depths below?
No tidings of that shore to Europe go?
Forbid it, Heaven! and, oh, let Colon's name,
With these glad tidings, yet be borne to Spain!
Prosper my work, oh Lord! Let nations rest
Assured that nations wait them in the West!
Such were his hopes, perhaps, in prayer expressed.

Traced on a scroll, his simple story told,
Is then encased in wax with careful fold;
Next in a friendly cask is well confined,
Then to the waves and raging sea consigned:
Go, simple tale; go, seek the dangerous shore;
For there thine author may be seen no more!

The work complete, the crew apart had viewed
The solemn act, with feelings well subdued:
"Our Chief invokes the aid of Secret Power
To save us from the perils of this hour:"
Such were the thoughts that each to each expressed
As each now waited his eternal rest!

His care and pains, however, were unnecessary. The document so cautiously committed to the waves never reappeared; indeed it would never have been more thought of had it not a few years ago suggested the subject of a joke to some facetious navigator by whom it was purported to be found. Nor was it likely it should be seen again, for certain well known currents instead of throwing it on the coast of Spain, as intended by Columbus, would more probably have consigned it to oblivion somewhere among the Azores, or have carried it in the direc-

tion of those shores which he had left in the West Indies,* after a drift to the Southward.

Happily for the half drowned crew of the storm-driven barque, the heart of the gale was broken, and in the evening of Thursday, the 14th of February, the force of the wind was so much reduced that they were enabled to make sail on her. The next day, to the joy of all on board, land was descried, which was pronounced by the pilots to be the rock of Lisbon. The Admiral, however, differed in opinion from them, being satisfied that it was one of the Azores, from which they were now about five leagues. The wind, which had been fair for nearing it, now shifted to the North-East, dead against them; and, to the great discomfiture of the Admiral, who was perpetually on the watch, the little *Niña* was much distressed by a heavy cross sea, which is the most trying that seamen can endure, and this state of things lasted for two days more, at the end of which another island was discovered.

* Note CI. Appendix.

CHAPTER IX.

COLUMBUS ANCHORS OFF ISLE ST. MARY, ONE OF THE AZORES—
TREATMENT OF HIS CREW ON SHORE—THE PARLEY BE-
TWEEN THE ADMIRAL AND THE GOVERNOR—BELIEF OF CO-
LUMBUS THAT HE HAD DISCOVERED THE EASTERN EXTREME
OF JAPAN CONFIRMED BY THE STORMS OF THE AZORES—HIS
LETTERS INSPECTED BY PORTUGUESE OFFICIALS—THE BOAT
AND HER CREW RETURNED—COLUMBUS AGAIN SAILS FOR
SPAIN.

ON the evening of the 17th of February, having gained the North coast of the latter island by sunset, the *Niña* dropped her anchor on an exposed part of the shore, and in the course of the night, had the misfortune to lose it, and was consequently obliged to get under sail and to stand off the land. At daylight, however, the vessel stood in again, and anchoring once more, sent on shore and learnt that the island was St. Mary, the Southern one of the Azores: and the first they had seen would therefore most probably have been St. Michael, the principal one of the group. They were then instructed how to proceed to the little port of San Lorenzo, (to which however it does not appear they went,) the people of the island expressing their astonishment at the *Niña* having outlived the long continued

severe weather which they had experienced. But their surprise was still greater when they learnt the discoveries that had been made by Columbus. The Governor of the island, Juan de Castañeda, who happened to have met the Admiral in former days, sent him a small but welcome supply of bread and some fowls, which indeed must have been most acceptable after the protracted fatigue and privation he had undergone. They were brought on board after sunset by his messengers, whom the Admiral treated for the night with marked hospitality, and was informed by them that three of his men, whom the Governor had detained to learn from them accounts of his discoveries, (which to the Portuguese must have been highly interesting,) would be brought on board by the Governor in the morning with some more refreshments, as it was too late for him to visit the Admiral that evening. This promise of the Governor was satisfactory enough. We shall see how it was observed.

Reverting to their late escape from the gale, and the obligations they had voluntarily imposed on themselves, Columbus having learnt from the Governor's messengers that there was a small hermitage near the beach, considered it the first duty of himself and his crew to acquit themselves of their vows. Having requested the messengers to announce these intentions to the ecclesiastic in charge of the hermitage, he sent them on shore, in order that arrangements should be made so that his people, when they followed, might find him ready to receive them, and perform the ceremony. It was arranged, also, that one half of the crew should go first, and Columbus with the latter half should follow, after they had

returned on board. The first half accordingly left the *Niña* on their very conscientious and praiseworthy errand. But being longer absent than appeared necessary, Columbus became anxious about them and apprehensive that some accident had happened to the boat in landing, as this was difficult, owing to the rocky character of the shore. And as the hermitage could not be seen from the *Niña*, being concealed by a point of land, the anchor was tripped, and the vessel moved so as to command a view of it. The sequel was a good specimen of official duplicity. The promise of the Governor was a mere subterfuge. The penitent and defenceless Spaniards having landed, disrobed, and half completed their duties at the shrine of Santa Maria, were suddenly surrounded by armed soldiers of the island, and made prisoners, and the Governor himself, accompanied by some others, was observed from on board entering the *Niña's* boat just as she was taking up her new anchorage, and making out towards her, evidently with the intention of making a prisoner of the Admiral!

The following is a specimen of the manner in which these matters were conducted in those days. As the boat approached the *Niña*, the Governor stood up, and demanded parley of the Admiral, which was granted. First, the Admiral inquires how it is that none of his men are in the boat? adding courteously to the Governor, that he might come on board the *Niña* if he chose, and do what he pleased; intending really to make prisoners of the Portuguese until he had recovered his own men. The Governor, however, thought himself safer in the boat, and more likely to remain his own

master than if in the power of the Admiral, so he wisely stayed where he was. On seeing this, the Admiral demanded the reason why he had detained his men, a proceeding which the King of Portugal would have to answer for to the Sovereigns of Castile, who, he added, received the Portuguese, and in whose dominions they were as safe as in Lisbon,—that he had his Sovereigns' letters of recommendation to all the Princes and Governors in the world, which he would show him if he chose, and that he was their Admiral and Vice Roy of all the Indies. On this he held up his commission to the Governor, pointing out the seals and signatures of his Sovereigns, adding that they were on terms of friendship with the King of Portugal. Therefore, he continues, if the Governor should still choose to detain the men, that would not prevent his returning to Castile as he had sufficient on board to navigate the vessel, and the Governor and his people should be severely punished for this insult.

On this the Governor replies, with warmth, that the King and Queen of Castile were not acknowledged in his island, nor his credentials, nor were they feared,—rather he would let the Admiral know that Portugal was on the point of threatening them. On learning this, the Admiral had certain suspicions that some misunderstanding might really have taken place between the two countries in his absence, that might justify the reply of the Governor,—who, having had his parley, was now directing his boat towards the shore. As he turned from his inhospitable visit, he called out to the Admiral that he might go with his vessel to the port, for all that

he had said and done he had received his orders from the King his master. On this, as a parting adieu, the Admiral, turning to the Governor, called his crew to witness, that he gave him his word he would not leave the Niña until he had captured a hundred Portuguese and carried them to Castile; and, in fact, that he would return and depopulate the island. On this the Niña returns to her former anchorage, while the Governor is making for the shore!

Such is a specimen of the manners and customs of those early days; much of the fanfarronade of station without the intention of carrying heavy threats into effect. It is hard to say whether the inhospitable treatment of the weather-beaten mariners or the ostentatious behaviour of the Portuguese Governor most deserves our contempt.

Such, however, was the reception which the great discoverer of the New World met with from his former friend the Portuguese Captain Juan de Castañeda, then Governor of a paltry island, a mere dot in the ocean, some seven or eight miles long, at a time when the privation he had suffered from continual severe weather in the confinement of a small vessel had reduced him to a state in which he needed shelter and refreshment to recover his former strength. The additional annoyance, moreover, of his men being detained on shore, and his own boat made use of to perpetrate the insult, must have been particularly galling to the Admiral, and fully justified the spirited parting threat which his friend the Governor received from him as he turned to go on shore. The whole scene is a good specimen of the custom of the day, and contrasts well

with the course adopted on such occasions in these days between two states on the eve of war. There seemed, however, to be no ostensible reason for such conduct on the part of the inhospitable Governor, and it could only be accounted for by supposing that he had received secret orders to obtain, if possible, possession of the Admiral's person.

Returning to take up her former anchorage, which appears most probably to have been in the bay to the East of Trades Point, the weather became so bad that the *Niña* was obliged to put to sea, and the Admiral had to endure further privation with a reduced crew, among which he could only muster three able seamen. He directed his course Northward, as well as he could, to seek shelter in the island of St. Michael, which must have been that first seen by him; but here he was disappointed and obliged to keep the sea until the following morning, when he again stood towards his former anchorage off the inhospitable island of St. Mary, in hopes of recovering his men, his boat, and the anchor he had left behind. The Azores, it is well known among seamen, are celebrated for gales of wind, and have no harbours for shelter from their effects, an inconvenience which was severely felt by Columbus in the prolonged continuance of the bad weather he had endured, so different to that to which he had been accustomed on the shores of Cuba and Española. Moreover the severity of the weather and the boisterous and stormy sea which he was now navigating, contributed to strengthen his favourite theory, that he had been on the shores of Japan, on the confines of the East, a subject on which he seemed to be

lost in the wildest speculations of fancy. What else but a mind bent on distorting everything into that form which would tend to establish his own theory, could entertain ideas like these, which appear in his Journal. "The sacred authors and philosophers have spoken wisely when they said, that the Terrestrial Paradise was on the confines of the East, for there (whence he considered he had now returned) indeed was to be found a continual recurrence of the most serene skies and delicious atmosphere, as well as a smooth and placid sea, one that might be navigated at all times; while here on the stormy shores of these islands and even the Canary Islands, they were constantly liable to the most tempestuous weather." "And therefore," he adds, "the land which I have discovered must be the termination of the East."* Thus even the climate was made subservient to establish the truth of the theory which he had adopted that he had really discovered the Eastern part of Asia; and so firmly was his mind impressed with that belief, that even the stormy weather to which he was now exposed was made to confirm it.

As soon as the *Niña* had regained her former anchorage, a person was observed hailing her from the shore, desiring her to remain where she was, when soon after her boat was seen approaching her, with five men, two priests, and a notary. On demanding truce they were received on board, and the rights of hospitality for the night generously accorded to them by the Admiral. The object of the visitors was to inspect the letters which

* Note CII. Appendix.

Columbus held from the Spanish Sovereigns, and accordingly in the morning, after excusing the conduct of Castañeda, their request was made to the Admiral for permission to see them, as they had to assure the Governor that they had done so, and were satisfied with the authority under which the voyage had been performed. Columbus felt that this was a mere subterfuge to justify the Governor's conduct, and was persuaded that they would have taken him prisoner had they dared to attempt it. So requiring on his part a promise from them that his men should be returned, they were allowed to inspect the documents. Having done this, they returned to the shore. Presently the men made their appearance and returned on board in their boat; and assured Columbus that if they had only once found him out of his ship, they would never have allowed him to escape again, for such were the orders they had received from their Government. In these days it is difficult to conceive that such a measure could have been carried into effect; but it is positively asserted by the Admiral. Possibly the jealousy of the Portuguese lest their splendid achievements in maritime discovery should be surpassed by the Spaniards, might have given rise to stratagems of every kind to preserve a superiority over their neighbours.

The Admiral having recovered his men and the boat of the *Niña*, was now relieved from the great annoyance to which he had been exposed by the desire to perform the duties of religion, and he gladly left the inhospitable shores of Isle St. Mary, although the *Niña* was much in want of the necessary articles of fuel and ballast.

He sailed along the shore, as the weather permitted, at a short distance and had again anchored with the hopes of obtaining what he required; but the wind rising again, and finding himself likely to be on a lee shore, a condition which would be fatal to his vessel, he was obliged again to leave his anchorage and get under sail. Seeing, moreover, the difficulties he would have to contend with in obtaining either of these necessities; first, from the danger of the surf on the exposed shore, and next from the hostile feeling against him on the part of the Portuguese; and the wind being favourable for running to the Eastward, on the 24th of February he once more shaped his course for Spain.

CHAPTER X.

THE ADMIRAL SAILS FROM THE AZORES—MEETS BAD WEATHER IN WHICH THE NINA LOSES HER SAILS, BUT SAFELY REACHES THE TAGUS—COLUMBUS ANNOUNCES HIS RETURN BY LETTER TO HIS SOVEREIGNS—A VISIT FROM A PORTUGUESE MAN OF WAR—NAVAL ETIQUETTE—THE ADMIRAL INVITED TO THE PORTUGUESE COURT—INTERPRETATION OF HIS SIGNATURE—HIS RECEPTION BY THE KING OF PORTUGAL—SAILS FROM THE TAGUS AND ARRIVES AT HUELVA.

At length Columbus was once more fairly on his way for the port of Huelva, from whence he had sailed on that great enterprise which was to enlarge the boundaries of the known world, and to open a new volume in its history, one too that was to contain a repetition of those deeds which are inseparable from man's nature, arising from tyranny over his fellows. For the first few days the Niña made tolerable progress; but the time of the year allowed little hopes of much fine weather. As he advanced the wind drew to the Southward and Eastward, and consequently little progress was made. It then became North-East, and continued for two days with bad weather confirming the opinion of Columbus regarding the severity of the climate in the East compared with that

which he had left in the West. Indeed, had the Admiral entertained any doubts of this, they would have been dispelled by another formidable gale which he had to endure in the beginning of March, as he approached the coast of Portugal. The qualities of the *Niña* had already been sorely tried since she had been in the stormy regions of the Atlantic, and she had now to undergo another ordeal of severe weather as bad as any she had already experienced.

On the night of the 2nd of March her sails were all torn away from her by the wind, and she was thereby placed in the greatest danger, by being left at the mercy of an overwhelming sea. Indeed, so bad was her condition in the opinion of the Admiral, that there appeared no hope of her surviving the fury of this storm, and once more Columbus and his weather-worn crew implored the mercy of Providence. Again lots were resorted to for a pilgrimage as before to the shrine of Santa Maria in Huelva, and vows were made that if they should happily outlive the storm, the first Saturday after their arrival should be devoted to fasting on bread and water. It is remarkable that the lot for the expense of the pilgrimage again fell on Columbus. The historian Las Casas, takes the opportunity of making the observation that thus again was expressed the disapproval of his proceedings by Providence, and that these repeated visitations were sent in punishment for his having torn from their homes the unhappy natives who were on board the *Niña*.

During the following day and night the storm continued with unabated fury, the sea running so high that it was considered impossible for the vessel to live, and

the lightning breaking occasionally through the darkness only served to show the reality of her desperate condition. The vessel besides was drawing towards a lee shore, so that if she even survived the fury of the storm, there would be the danger of being thrown on it by the sea, an alternative by which she would be dashed to fragments, and leave no one alive to tell the tale. The anxiety and suffering of that night must have been even worse than that which the Admiral experienced off St. Mary, but it pleased a merciful Providence again to spare the little vessel which was bearing to Europe the fact of another world in the West. Towards the morning of the 4th of March, there was some abatement of the wind, the weather moderated, and land was seen, and when daylight came they were enabled to recognize the rock of Lisbon! The Admiral made for Cascaes Bay, close to the entrance of the Tagus, and was congratulated by the inhabitants on his escape from the severe storm he had experienced. In the course of the morning he departed for the Tagus, in which he soon arrived, and anchored safely off the village of Rastelo, a little within the entrance on its Northern shore.

The first step taken by the Admiral was to despatch a letter which he had prepared to the secretary of the Spanish Sovereigns, giving an account of his discoveries, and then he addressed another to the King of Portugal, informing him of his arrival from the discovery of the Indies, and not from the coast of Guinea, and requesting permission to move his vessel up to Lisbon, so as to be out of the way of certain loose idle characters, who, having learnt that she had treasures on board, he was

apprehensive that they would be committing some depredations.

The next day the pilot of the king's ship, the largest then built, and mounting a greater number of guns than any other, went on board the *Niña*, and desired Columbus to accompany him in his boat, which was manned and armed alongside, to the ship, and give an account of himself. This was a piece of indignity which the Admiral was not one who would put up with, so taking his stand upon his rank, he replied immediately to the officer that he was an Admiral in the service of the Sovereigns of Castile, and that it was not for him to think of giving an account of himself to any such person; that he certainly should not do so now, nor should he leave his vessel but by force of arms; and, moreover, that not only he should not go to the Captain, but no one belonging to him should go either, for such was the custom of the Admirals of Castile.

The pilot, who is stated to have been a quiet man, perhaps seeing the mistake that was made, answered, if that was his determination of course he must do as he pleased, but begged that he would show him his commission from the Sovereigns of Castile if he had one. This the Admiral condescended to do, and he went away quite satisfied, and reported the state of the case to his Captain. This officer, who was evidently well acquainted with the routine of naval etiquette, had the good sense to perform his duty without hesitation, and immediately paid the Admiral a visit of ceremony in his barge, attended with a cortege of drums and fifes, which thus appear to have been customary in these early days.

The Admiral received him in due form, and the usual complimentary offer of services was made on the part of the Portuguese Captain, who thus evinced the character of a generous and correct officer.

The *Niña* had arrived in the Tagus on Monday the 4th of March, and during the three following days she was crowded with visitors from Lisbon, who were naturally attracted to her by the accounts they had heard of her extraordinary performances. Indeed, the discoveries which Columbus had made were the theme of all conversation, exciting general admiration; but with some not unattended with regret that such valuable discoveries had not been made by their own countrymen.

On Friday, the 8th of March, the Admiral was visited by Don Martin de Noronha, who presented him with a letter from the King of Portugal, inviting him to make his stay at Court while the weather prevented him from prosecuting his voyage home. To this Columbus felt it impossible to object, and having already dispatched his letter informing his Sovereigns of his discoveries, he set out on his visit.

It is a singular circumstance that the signature which the Admiral so studiously affixed to all his letters should have remained as little understood as his Landfall. Having, we hope, successfully described the latter, let us for a moment consider the former.

It is well known, as Mr. Washington Irving observes, that "it was an ancient usage in Spain, and it has not entirely gone by, to accompany the signature with some words of religious purport. One object of this practice was to show the writer to be a Christian. This was of

some importance in a country in which Jews and Mahomedans were proscribed and persecuted.

“Don Fernando, son to Columbus, says, that his father, when he took his pen in hand, usually commenced by writing, ‘*Jesus cum Maria sit nobis in via,*’ and the book which the Admiral prepared and sent to the Sovereigns, containing the prophecies which he considered as referring to his discoveries, and to the rescue of the Holy Sepulchre, begins with the same words.” He further adds, “that the ciphers or initials above the signature, are supposed to represent a pious ejaculation. To read them one must begin with the lower letters, and connect them with those above. Signor Geo. Bautista Spotorno conjectures them to mean either *Xristus*, (Christus,) *Sancta Maria*, *Yosephus*, or *Salva me*, *Xristus*, *Maria*, *Yosephus*. The “North American Review,” for April, 1827, suggests the substitution of *Jesus* for *Josephus*, which appears an improvement on the suggestion of Spotorno.”*

And it appears that the meaning of Columbus in those letters was not even known to his son, who, by a passage in his will, was obliged to adopt them with his own signature. Thus the Admiral says:—“Don Diego, my son, or any other who may inherit this estate, on coming into possession of the inheritance, shall sign with the signature which I now make use of, which is, an *x* with an *s* over it, and an *m* with a Roman *A* over it, and over that an *s*, and a great *Y* with an *s* over it, with its lines and points, as is my custom, as may be

* Note CIII. Appendix.

seen by my signatures, of which there are many, and it will be seen by the present one."

"He shall only write 'the Admiral,' whatever titles the King may have conferred upon him. This is to be understood as respects his signature; but not the enumeration of his titles, which he can make at full length if agreeable; only the signature is to be "the Admiral.'"

It is clear from the foregoing that Columbus attached great importance to the whole cipher, and signature, and it is very remarkable that he seems never to have disclosed the meaning he intended should be conveyed by the former. It has necessarily therefore become a subject for speculation from its origin even to the present day, and has remained hitherto, like the Landfall, in its unexplained original obscurity.

Without then seeking for its meaning among the ancient classics, or reading it in an inverted order, as has been recommended, let us suggest a solution from the Landfall.

It will be remembered that Columbus was reduced to a very low state of circumstances while he was unsuccessfully endeavouring to obtain attention from the Court of Spain; and that having made a final effort, he was about to leave the country when he was recalled to Court, and introduced to Isabella at the instance of his friend the Prior of the Convent of La Rabida.

The reader will no doubt remember, also, the scene that is said to have taken place when Columbus received on bended knee the assurance from Isabella that his request should be granted,—that he should have his voyage. Nor can the emotion of Columbus be forgotten,

when the same benevolent Sovereign gave him a proof of the reality of her intentions by telling the Admiral that his son should be received into the royal service during his absence. These were words well calculated to reach a parent's heart; and moved even to tears, not only by the certainty of thus seeing realized the favourite wish of his life, but also the tender youth of his favourite son thus cared for and protected in his absence, Columbus gave expression to those sentiments which he kept before him ever after, bequeathing them as sacred words to his heirs and successors. Overcome by so much unexpected kindness from the noble-minded Isabella, as soon as his feelings allowed him utterance, he exclaimed, "I shall henceforth be the Servant of your Majesty." Let us now apply this to his cipher, which is thus arranged:—

S.
S. A. S.
X. M. Y.
Xpo Ferens
El Almirante.

Assuming that they are meant for Spanish words, the three first lines would stand for

Servidor
Sus Altezas Sacras
Jesus Maria Ysabel.

And translated mean,

“The Servant of their Sacred Highnesses Jesus, Mary, and Isabella.” So that by adopting the above cipher Columbus really expressed what he intended should remain in perpetuity in his family, that he and his heirs should be the servant of her Majesty, in gratitude for her generosity. Navarrete has printed the letters all of the same size; but in conformity with the above directions a large Roman A is placed over the M, and the letters before and after it on the same line are kept smaller in conformity with the custom of the Admiral.* The words “Xpo Ferens,”† are admitted to signify “bearing the cross,” so that the whole translated would stand thus in English:—

The Servant
of their Sacred Highnesses
Jesus, Mary, and Isabella
Bearing the Cross
The Admiral

Considering the general character of Columbus, the light in which he looked on his mission as chosen by Providence to spread his word among nations “walking in darkness,” the above appears to be not an unlikely translation of the Admiral’s meaning. But such as it is we may leave it.

Returning to the Admiral, who had left his little vessel, the *Niña*, on his visit to the King of Portugal, accompanied by his Chief Pilot, (*Piloto Mayor*, an im-

* Note CIV. Appendix.

† Note CV.

portant officer in Spanish ships, especially in those days, on whom devolved the duties of navigation,) on the first day he reached a place called Sacanben, where he passed the night, and where the King of Portugal had directed that he and his people should be received with every attention, and their wants all supplied at his own expense.

On the next day the Admiral set out for Valparaiso, where the King was staying, a place nine leagues from Lisbon, but the weather being bad he did not arrive until night. The King had not only directed that he should be received with marked respect, but himself showed him great attention, causing him to be seated in his presence, and conversing with him freely, offering to do everything for the Sovereigns of Castile which he might require, both for them and his own service, evincing much satisfaction in the success of his voyage. But, he added, that he understood that in the treaty between the Spanish Sovereigns and himself that the newly discovered islands might possibly belong to him. To which the Admiral replied, that he had not seen the treaty, nor did he know anything more than that his Sovereigns had directed him not to go to La Mina* or to any part of Guinea, and that his voyage had been proclaimed by his order in all the ports of Andalusia before he sailed. On which the King graciously observed, that for his part he was quite certain there would be no occasion for a third party in the business. The Prior of Clato was charged with the entertainment of the Admiral, he being the

* Note CVI. Appendix.

principal person at Court, and from him Columbus received every possible attention.

On the following day his Majesty renewed the subject of the voyage with the Admiral, and entered largely into all the particulars concerning it, treating him with marked consideration, and on the next day, the 11th of March, the Admiral took his leave, the King sending by him his greeting to the Spanish Sovereigns. After dining with his Majesty, he set out, accompanied by Don Martin de Noronha and all the courtiers present, on his journey towards Villa Franca, where, in the Monastery of San Antonio, the Queen was staying. Here he waited on her Majesty by express desire, and was received most courteously, and having related his voyage proceeded on to Llundra for the night.

The following morning, on resuming his journey, a messenger arrived from the King, offering the Admiral, if he chose to go to Castile by land, to forward him free of all expense. And on the Admiral parting from him, he presented him with a mule giving another to his pilot, who accompanied him, to which also he added a purse of twenty espadines. This the Admiral looked on as a demonstration which it was intended should be made known to the Sovereigns. The same night he once more embarked in his only caravel, the little Niña.

On the 13th of March, at eight in the morning, the Admiral took advantage of the ebb tide and with a fresh breeze from North-North-West cleared the Tagus, and shaped his course for Seville.

Rounding Cape St. Vincent the next day, at noon on Friday, the 15th of March, the Niña crossed the bar of

Saltes, the port which the Admiral had left in his ship, the *Santa Maria*, on the 3rd of August previous, the whole voyage having thus occupied 224 days (thirty-two weeks). Finding that the Spanish Court was then at Barcelona, he intended continuing his route there by sea in the same little vessel, the *Niña*, but found it more convenient to proceed thither by land;—in order to describe to the Sovereigns those discoveries which, in his own words, “by the Lord’s permission he had been enabled to make, and the many wonderful things that had been shown him on his voyage; one which had met with much opposition at Court from many influential persons, who had all been averse to the undertaking, considering it madness to adopt it; but which same he hoped in the Lord would prove to be the greatest advantage to Christianity that had been yet conferred on it in so short an interval of time.”

THE END.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

The following is a translation of the letter dispatched by Columbus from Lisbon :—

Sir,—As I am sure you will be pleased at the great victory which the Lord has given me in my voyage, I write this to inform you that in twenty days I arrived in the Indies with the squadron which their Majesties had placed under my command. There I discovered many islands, inhabited by a numerous population, and took possession of them for their Highnesses, with public ceremony and the royal flag displayed, without molestation.

The first that I discovered I named San Salvador, in remembrance of that Almighty Power which had so miraculously bestowed them. The Indians call it *Guanahani*. To the second I assigned the name of *Santa Maria de Concepcion*. To the third, that of *Fernandina*. To the fourth, that of *Isabela*. To the fifth, *Juana* ; and so on—to every one a new name.

When I arrived at Juana, I followed the coast to the westward and found it so extensive that I considered it must be a continent, and a province of Cathay. And as I found no towns or villages by the sea side, excepting some small settlements, with the people of which I could not communicate because they all ran away, I continued my course to the westward, thinking I should not fail to find

some large towns and cities. After having coasted many leagues without finding any signs of them, and seeing that the coast took me to the northward, where I did not wish to go, as the winter was already set in, I considered it best to follow the coast to the South; and, the wind being also scant, I determined to lose no more time and therefore returned to a certain port; from whence I sent two messengers into the country to ascertain whether there was any King there or any large city.

They travelled for three days, finding an infinite number of small settlements and an innumerable population, but nothing like a city; on which account they returned. I had tolerably well ascertained from some Indians whom I had taken that this land was only an island, so I followed the coast of it to the East for 107 leagues, to its termination. And about eighteen leagues from this cape, to the East, there was another island, to which I shortly gave the name of *Española*. I went to it, and followed the North coast of it, as I had done that of *Juana*, for 178 long leagues due East.

This island is very fertile, as well, indeed, as all the rest. It possesses numerous harbours, far superior to any I know in Europe, and, what is remarkable, plenty of large inlets. The land is high, and contains many lofty ridges and some very high mountains, without comparison of the island of *Cetrefrey*; all of them very handsome and of different forms; all of them accessible and abounding in trees of a thousand kinds, high and appearing as if they would reach the skies. And I am assured that the latter never lose their foliage, as far as I can understand, for I saw them as fresh and flourishing as those of Spain in the month of May. Some were in blossom, some bearing fruit, and others in other states according to their nature.

The nightingale and a thousand kinds of birds enlivened the woods with their song, in the month of November, wherever I went. There are seven or eight kinds of palms, of various elegant forms, besides various other trees, fruits, and herbs. The pines of this island are magnificent. It has also extensive plains, honey, and a great variety of birds and fruits. It has many metal mines, and a population innumerable.

Española is a wonderful island, with mountains, groves, plains, and the country generally beautiful and rich for planting and sowing, for rearing sheep and cattle of all kinds, and ready for towns and cities. The harbours must be seen to be appreciated; rivers are plentiful and large and of excellent water; the greater part of them contain gold. There is a great difference between the trees, fruits,

and herbs of this island and those of Juana. In this island there are many spices, and large mines of gold and other metals.

The people of this island and of all the others which I have discovered or heard of, both men and women, go naked as they were born, although some of the women wear leaves of herbs or a cotton covering made on purpose. They have no iron nor steel, nor any weapons, not that they are not a well disposed people and of a fine stature, but they are timid to a degree. They have no other arms excepting spears made of cane, to which they fix, at the end, a sharp piece of wood, and then dare not use even these. Frequently I had occasion to send two or three of my men on shore to some settlement for information where there would be multitudes of them; and as soon as they saw our people they would run away every soul the father leaving his child; and this was not because any one had done them harm, for rather at every cape where I landed and been able to communicate with them I have made them presents of cloth and many other things without receiving anything in return; but because they are so timid. Certainly, where they have confidence and forget their fears they are so open hearted and liberal with all they possess that it is scarcely to be believed without seeing it. If anything that they have is asked of them they never deny it; on the contrary they will offer it. Their generosity is so great that they would give anything, whether it is costly or not, for anything of any kind that is offered them and be contented with it. I was obliged to prevent such worthless things being given them as pieces of broken basins, broken glass, and bits of shoe latches; although when they obtained them they esteemed them as if they had been the greatest of treasures. One of the seamen for a latchet received a piece of gold weighing two dollars and a half, and others, for other things of much less value, obtained more. Again, for new silver coin they would give every thing they possessed, whether it was worth two or three doubloons or one or two balls of cotton. Even for pieces of broken pipe-tubes they would take them and give anything for them, until, when I thought it wrong, I prevented it. And I made them presents of thousands of things which I had, that I might win their esteem and also that they might be made good Christians and be disposed to the service of your Majesties and the whole Spanish nation, and help us to obtain the things which we require and of which there is abundance in their country.

And these people appear to have neither religion nor idolatry, except that they believe that good and evil come from the skies; and

they firmly believed that our ships and their crews, with myself, came from the skies, and with this persuasion, after having lost their fears they always received us. And yet this does not proceed from ignorance, for they are very ingenious, and some of them navigate their seas in a wonderful manner and give good accounts of things, but because they never saw people dressed or ships like ours.

And as soon as I arrived in the Indies, at the first island at which I touched, I captured some of them, that we might learn from them and obtain intelligence of what there was in those parts. And as soon as we understood each other they were of great service to us; but yet, from frequent conversation which I have had with them, they still believe we came from the skies. These were the first to express that idea, and others ran from house to house, and to the neighbouring villages, crying out, "Come and see the people from the skies." And thus all of them, men and women, after having satisfied themselves of their safety, came to us without reserve, great and small, bringing us something to eat and drink, and which they gave to us most affectionately.

They have many canoes in those islands propelled by oars: some of them large and others small, and many of them with eight or ten paddles of a side, not very wide, but all of one trunk, and a boat cannot keep way with them by oars, for they are incredibly fast; and with these they navigate all the islands, which are innumerable, and obtain their articles of traffic. I have seen some of these canoes with sixty or eighty men in them, and each with a paddle.

Among the islands I did not find much diversity of formation in the people, nor in their customs, nor their language. They all understand each other, which is remarkable; and I trust your Highnesses will determine on their being converted to our faith, for which they are very well disposed.

I have already said that I went 107 leagues along the coast of *Juana*, from East to West. Thus, according to my track, it is larger than England and Scotland together, for, besides these 107 leagues, there were, further West, two provinces to which I did not go, one of which is called *Cibau*, the people of which are born with tails*; which provinces must be about fifty or sixty leagues long, according to what I can make out from the Indians I have with me, who know all the islands. The other island (*Española*) is larger in circuit than the whole of Spain from the Straits of Gibraltar

* See note at conclusion.

(the Columns) to Fuentarabia in Biscay, as I sailed 138 long leagues in a direct line from West to East. Once known it must be desired, and once seen one desires never to leave it; and which, being taken possession of for their Highnesses, and the people being at present in a condition lower than I can possibly describe, the Sovereigns of Castile may dispose of it in any manner they please. In the most convenient places in this *Española*, and the best district, there are gold mines, and, on the other hand, from thence to terra firma, as well as from thence to the Great Khan, where everything is on a splendid scale. I have taken possession of a large town, to which I gave the name of La Navidad, and have built a fort in it in every respect complete. And I left sufficient people in it to take care of it, with artillery, and provisions for more than a year, also a boat and coxswain, with the equipments, in complete friendship with the King of the island,—to that degree that he delighted to call me and look on me as his brother. And should they fall out with these people, neither he nor his subjects know anything of weapons and go naked, as I have said, and they are the most timorous people in the world. The few people left there are sufficient to conquer the country, and the island would thus remain without danger to them, they keeping order among themselves.

In all these islands it appeared to me the men are contented with one wife, but to their Governor or King they allow twenty. The women seem to work more than the men. I have not been able to discover whether they respect personal property, for it appeared to me that things were common to all, especially in the particular of provisions. Hitherto I have not seen in any of these islands any monsters, as there were supposed to be; the people, on the contrary, are generally well formed, nor are they black like those of Guinea, saving their hair, and they do not reside in places exposed to the sun's rays. It is true that the sun is most powerful there, as it is only 26° from the equator. In this last winter those islands which were mountainous were cold, but they are accustomed to it, with good food and plenty of spices and hot nutriment. Thus I have found no monsters nor heard of any, except at an island which is the second in going to the Indies, and which is inhabited by a people who are considered in all the islands as ferocious and who devour human flesh. These people have many canoes, which scour all the islands of India and plunder all they can. They are not worse formed than others, but they wear the hair long like women, and use bows and arrows of the same kind of cane pointed with a piece of hard wood instead of

iron, of which they have none. They are fierce compared with the other people, who are in general but sad cowards; but I do not consider them in any other way superior to them. These are they who trade in women, who inhabit the first island met with in going from Spain to the Indies, in which there are no men whatever. They have no effeminate exercise, but bows and arrows, as before said, of cane, with which they arm themselves, and use shields of copper, of which they have plenty.

There is another island, I am told, larger than *Española*, the natives of which have no hair. In this there is gold without limit, and of this and the others I have Indians with me to witness.

In conclusion, referring only to what has been effected this voyage, which was made with so much haste, your Highnesses may see that I shall find as much gold as desired with the very little assistance afforded to me: there is as much spice and cotton as can be wished for and also gum, which hitherto has only been found in Greece, in the island of Chios, and they may sell it as they please, and the mastich, as much as may be desired, and slaves, also, who will be idolators. And I believe that I have found rhubarb and cinnamon, and a thousand other things I shall find, which will have been discovered by those whom I have left behind, for I did not stop at any cape when the wind enabled me to navigate except at the town of Navidad, where I was very safe and well taken care of. And in truth much more I should have done if the ships had served me as might have been expected. This is certain, that the Eternal God our Lord, gives all things to those who obey him, and the victory when it seems impossible, and this evidently is an instance of it, for although people have talked of these lands, all was conjecture unless proved by seeing them, for the greater part listened and judged more by hearsay than by anything else.

Since then our Redeemer has given this victory to our illustrious King and Queen, and celebrated their reigns by such a great thing, all Christendom should rejoice and make great festivals, and give solemn thanks to the Blessed Trinity, with solemn praises for the exaltation of so much people to our holy faith; and next for the temporal blessings which not only Spain but they will enjoy in becoming Christians, and which last may shortly be accomplished.

Written in the caravel off the Canary Islands*, on the fifteenth of February, ninety-three.

* See note at conclusion.

The following is introduced into the letter after being closed.

After writing the above, being in the Castilian Sea, (off the coast of Castile,) I experienced so severe a wind from South and South-East, that I have been obliged to run to-day into this port of Lisbon, and only by a miracle got safely in, from whence I intended to write to your Highnesses. In all parts of the Indies I have found the weather like that of May, where I went in ninety-three days and returned in seventy-eight, saving these thirteen days of bad weather that I have been detained beating about in this sea. Every seaman here says, that never was so severe a winter nor such loss of ships.

Dated the fourth of March.

Señor Navarrete observes respecting the date, that for Canaries must be meant the Azores, as the diary will show. And he adds,—

“The foregoing letter of Columbus was addressed to Luis de Santangel, the Escribano de Racion of the Catholic Sovereigns. The office belonged to the royal house of Aragon, and was similar to that of Contador Mayor to the Crown of Castile, which was filled by Alonzo de Quintanilla. Thus there were two *Contadores Mayores*, who might be considered Chiefs of the Household, in favour of the Admiral. The same Santangel was Treasurer to the Household and Court of Castile jointly with Francisco Pinela Jurado de Sevilla, who also took a part in the first affairs of the Indies.”

With reference to the passage he also adds,—“In the original the numbers are in Roman numerals, very indistinct. He should have said seventy-one days. For Columbus having sailed from the bar of Saltes on the 3rd of August and landed at San Salvador on the 12th of October, it is clear the voyage was seventy-one days and forty-eight home, reckoning the latter from the 16th of January, when he sailed from the Gulf of Flechas to the 4th of March, when he arrived at Lisbon.”

On the subject of people with tails, Navarrete very properly observes,—“These extravagant notions arose from the ignorance of the natives, and also from their not being clearly understood by the Admiral and his men, who neither understood their language nor their expressions.”

The following acknowledgment, which is letter No. XV. of Navarrete's Collection (vol. ii., p. 21,) was sent for the foregoing letter.

The King and the Queen.

Don Christopher Columbus, our Admiral of the Ocean Sea, Vice Roy and Governor of the Islands which have been discovered in the Indies.

Your letters are before us, and we have much pleasure in learning that which they contain, and that the Lord has granted so happy a result to your enterprise, and protected you in what you have commenced;—in which his service will be advanced, and our kingdoms much benefited. May it please the Lord, besides your having served him thus, you shall receive from us our acknowledgments, which be assured you have as your services and your achievements merit.

And since we wish that you may continue to carry on the work you have begun, we desire that for our service you will speedily and with all dispatch come to us, that all necessary provision may be timely made. And as you may perceive that summer has commenced, and the time is not gone by for going there, you will ascertain if anything can be done in Seville or other places to forward your return to the land which you have found.

Write to us by our messenger, who is to return immediately; in order that such things may be provided as are necessary, so that when you go from hence everything may be ready for you.

I THE KING.

I THE QUEEN.

From Barcelona, on the 30th of March, 93.

SUMMARY OF THE SEVERAL VOYAGES OF COLUMBUS.

It may interest the reader to follow Columbus through his subsequent career, briefly noticing the principal events of his voyages; and it may be useful to preserve for reference in this volume a general view of them.

Brief General Statement of the several Voyages of Columbus to America.

Compiled on the authority of Navarrete.*

Voyages	Date of Sall.	Where from.	Returned to	Date of Return.	Number of Vessels, &c.
First.	3 Aug. 1492	Palos de Moguer.	Palos de Moguer.	15 Mar. 1493	Three vessels; Santa Maria, Pinta, and Niña.
Second	25 Sep. 1493	Cadiz.	Cadiz.	11 June 1496	Seventeen vessels, three of which were ships, the remainder caravels. Columbus's ship named the Marigalante.
Third	30 May 1498	S. Lucar de Barra-meda.	Cadiz.	25 Nov. 1500	Six vessels. Returned a prisoner,—by order of Bobadilla,—released and ordered to Court on his arrival.
Fourth	11 May 1502	Cadiz.	S. Lucar de Barra-meda.	7 Nov. 1504	Four vessels; named Capitane, Santiago, Vizcaino, coravels; and Gallego, ship.

* Some dates differ from other authorities.

SECOND VOYAGE.

1493—1496.

The success of the first voyage of Columbus was considered so great by the Spanish Sovereigns, that measures were speedily adopted for another on a far more extensive scale. His reception at Barcelona by Ferdinand and Isabella was most gratifying to him. He was then in the meridian of his good fortune, placed immediately in command of the expedition which was preparing with all haste to follow up his discoveries. Indeed, so important was it in the estimation of the Spanish Court to do this before the Portuguese, that while overtures were going forward between the Spanish and Portuguese Sovereigns and the Pope as to whom the discoveries should belong, Columbus sailed from Cadiz with a fleet of seventeen vessels, in which were embarked about 1500 people.

In six days they arrived at Gomera, where they replenished their water and fuel, sailing again on the 3rd of October, and on the 3rd of November following made land.

It proved to be the island called *Dominica*, so named from being discovered on Sunday. A second island was also seen, and soon afterwards several others to the number of six, and a harbour was found in one of them, called *Marigalante* after the Admiral's ship. A day or two was passed here to recruit the health of the people, when the ships again made sail and discovered *Guadaloupe*, where they again anchor. The natives fly from the Spaniards, who explore the island and capture some.

On the 10th of November the Admiral sails, having been delayed waiting for one of his officers absent in the island, and discovers *Monserate*, reported to be depopulated by the Caribs, and therefore the Admiral did not stop there, but continued on for another seen in the evening and named by him *Santa Maria la Redonda*, and finding he was approaching dangerous navigation, the Admiral anchors for the night, and the next morning discovers *Santa Maria la Antigua*. But anxious to reach *Española* as soon as possible, the Admiral does not stop at any of these, and on the following day arrives at *San Martin*, where, from its appearance, he is induced to anchor to see the kind of people by whom it is inhabited. The natives fly from him, and some are captured, and here occurs the first scuffle between them and the Spaniards on the present voyage.

After a few hours' stay the Admiral sails, and discovers *Santa Cruz*, where he again anchors on Thursday the 14th of November.

On the next day he lands and discovers, as he believes, gold in the island. From thence he goes to the Virgin Island Group, naming them the *Once mil Virgenes*, and names the largest of them *Ursula*. Leaving these, he discovers Burenguen, which he names *San Bautista* now *Porto Rico*; running down the coast, and anchoring for two days, he named the *Ensenada de Mayagües*. All these islands were the discoveries of this voyage, none of them having been seen before.

From *Porto Rico* the Admiral proceeded to *Española*, and some doubts arose as to whether it was this island, as no one had seen it from the South-East as then approached. The *Mona* and *Monica* islands were named, and the low land of *Cape Engaño*. The native names of *Hayti*, the South-East portion of the island, *Xamana*, adjoining it, and *Bohio*, West of these, are severally named as the provinces of *Española*. *Cabra* Island is passed and *Monte Christi*, and the Admiral anchors off the port of *La Navidad* on Wednesday the 27th of November, and moves into it on the evening of the 28th.

His signals are unanswered, he is unable to discover any of his people left there on his former voyage, and learns from Guacanagari, whom he finds wounded and ill, all the misfortunes that had befallen them in his absence. A relation of Guacanagari visits Columbus with presents, and the replies made as to the fate of the Spaniards are unsatisfactory,—the natives seem cautious of Columbus, and the fact of their having been all killed, is ascertained,—Guacanagari is stated to feign being wounded, and he is unworthily suspected of being the aggressor.

Columbus looks out for another site for a city. Some natives being found with articles which belonged to the Spaniards, gives rise to suspicions of their having been killed by other native Chiefs. Guacanagari invites Columbus to go and see him, and evinces sorrow at the fate of his countrymen, and says by whom they were slain. He visits Columbus, who believes him innocent. Among the natives captured by the Spaniards and taken on board their ships, were two women, who made their escape, on which they are demanded by Columbus of Guacanagari,—the messengers finding this Chief had abandoned the place, come to the conclusion that he had been concerned in the death of those Spaniards who had been left by Columbus, until from further evidence the belief is set aside. The city of *Isabella* founded at *Puerto Delfin*. Columbus sends twelve of his ships home, with some produce of the island and natives, with overtures

in reference to their employment as slaves, which was rejected by the energetic and warm-hearted Isabella.

The Admiral sets out on an expedition to the interior of the island and selects a place for a fort, which is subsequently built and garrisoned, and named *San Thomas*. Columbus returns to Isabella on the 29th March, and finds sickness and despondency among his people, and much disaffection against him.

He prepares for further discoveries, and sails from Isabella on the 24th of April, and on the 29th reached the East end of Cuba; following then the Southern shore to the West, on the 2nd of May anchored in the harbour of *San Jago de Cuba*; and being advised by the natives to go to the South, sailed the next day, discovering the island of *Jamaica*, which he named *San Jago*; but disappointed in not finding gold, he shaped his course again for Cuba, making the island at *Cape de la Cruz*, to the West of where he had left it;—and pursuing the shores Westerly, soon found himself in a labyrinth of small islands, to which he gave the name of the *Queen's Garden*. He continued to the Westward until the 13th of June, when, turning to the South-East, he found his ships in that labyrinth of islands and shoals surrounding the *Isle of Pines*, the largest of which he named *Evangelista*, and which occupied him many days to get clear of, and on the 18th of July anchored off *Cape de la Cruz*, from whence he stood to the South, and rounded the West end of *Jamaica*, making but slow progress to the Eastward. Without attempting to land on *Jamaica*, he continued making his way to the East, and on the 20th of August reached *Cape Tiburon*, the Western end of *Hispañola*. Without knowing that it was his favourite island, he continued along the South shore of it to the Eastward, and reached the Eastern end of the island on the 24th of September.

Columbus continued on to the Eastward towards *Porto Rico*; but the long and severe trial he had undergone of five months, either beating to windward and extricating his ship from the dangerous navigation of the South coast of Cuba, exhausted his physical powers, and illness overtook him, which, it is said, nearly cost him his life. His ship was speedily taken back to Isabella, where, on recovering himself in some degree, he had the satisfaction of finding his brother *Bartholomew*, whom he had not seen since he went to offer his project to Henry the Seventh. The company of *Bartholomew* was most satisfactory to the Admiral, who stood much in need of such a companion, one to whom he could confide his thoughts in the responsible position which he held, surrounded by

discontent and disappointment, and whose matured knowledge of the world proved of great service to him.

Columbus immediately appointed him Governor of the island, a measure which was said to be much disapproved by Ferdinand. The natives had been so long subjected to the most cruel treatment from the Spaniards in the interior of the island, and so much disaffection prevailed against Columbus, that his orders were no longer obeyed. At the head of the disaffected was one Pedro Margarite and a friar named Boyle, who took possession of some of the ships and sailed for Spain. The fortress of St. Thomas was nearly deserted by the soldiers, many of whom thus fell an easy prey to the natives, who, under the direction of the Chief Caonobo, had risen against them. Seeing this, Caonobo collected a large body of his countrymen, (said to be 10,000,) and laid siege to the fort: but it was so well defended under the command of Alonzo de Ojeda, with only fifty men, that they were beaten off. The natives of the whole island, excepting Guacanagari, were now in arms against the Spaniards; this worthy Chief and his party adhered to the Spaniards, doing them great service. Columbus sends relief to the fortress established in the island named Magdalena, and forms another, called Concepcion; and while preparations were making to meet the natives, Alonzo de Ojeda, by a bold and daring piece of strategy, brings Caonobo a prisoner to Columbus.

At this juncture of affairs four ships arrived with provisions and clothing for the colony, and letters for Columbus from the Spanish Sovereigns, approving of his measures. He was also invited to return home to assist in determining the boundary line assigned by the Pope, dividing the Spanish from the Portuguese discoveries. But the health of the Admiral would not permit him then to undertake the voyage, and he sent his brother Diego with five ships, carrying a small quantity of gold, some of the produce of the island, and 500 natives, proposing they should be publicly sold at Seville. The interference of Isabella, it is related, prevented this from taking place.

Affairs in the island meanwhile were reaching their crisis, and the battle of Vega took place, in which the Spaniards overcame the whole body of the natives in the island. To make up for their want of numbers, they had obtained native dogs from Cuba, the ferocious bloodhound, and thus was sacrificed the greater proportion of the natives under cruelties the most appalling. The remaining natives, driven to despair, were thus at the mercy of their inhuman conquerors. A tax of gold was levied throughout the island from

each native, who as a device to rid themselves of the Spaniards destroyed the crops, thus thinking to starve them away. The effect of this measure fell heavier on themselves than on their masters, who had provisions, and many of the natives fell victims to their own act.

Meanwhile the enemies of Columbus had not been idle; Foresca, Pedro Margarite, and Friar Boyle, had succeeded in undermining him at home, by spreading their own stories, the result of which was to institute an inquiry. The person selected for this mission was one Juan Aguado, who arrived at Isabella in October, 1495, when Columbus was absent in the island. He met with more respect from the Admiral than Columbus did from him, interfering with his government, and arresting certain individuals. But having concluded his inquiry, Columbus determines on proceeding to Spain, and they sail in different ships, that of Aguado suffering from the effects of a hurricane, which Columbus had advised him of being at hand, and whose superior knowledge had enabled him to avoid. It was on the 10th of March, 1496, that Columbus left the island, and from keeping too far to the South, did not reach Cadiz until the 11th of June.

THIRD VOYAGE.

1498—1500.

Notwithstanding the efforts of his enemies, Columbus was received by the Spanish Sovereigns with marked attention on his return from his second voyage, and his proposals for a third were readily accepted. He was under the impression that he had discovered the shores of the Asiatic continent, and that *Cuba* was a peninsula, and proposed in another expedition to carry his discoveries into the interior. He asked for eight ships, two of which were to proceed to Isabella with supplies for the settlement, while the others would accompany him. All this was acceded to, and it was determined that every requirement for the establishment of a colony should be prepared. Emigrants were provided at the public expence. Such were the determinations and measures adopted accordingly; but Columbus was not so popular as he had been. Enemies had been

at work, and no one came forward to second his views or to carry out the intentions of the Sovereigns. How different was this from the eagerness with which the second expedition was crowded with volunteers,—anxious only to go and return home with that abundance of gold which was now found to be chimerical, or not so easily to be obtained as they imagined. It was necessary not only to levy supplies of ships, but wherewith should they be manned; and Columbus has been blamed for proposing to make *Española* a penal settlement, and to fill his ships with convicted felons, to undergo there their term of banishment.

Preparations had been slowly going on, and this measure speedily filled his ships, and all the equipments for the expedition being at length completed, Columbus put to sea from the port of San Lucar de Barrameda on the 30th of May, 1498, and steered for the Canaries as before, and intending to adopt a more southern route, the Admiral continued on for the Cape Verd Islands, which he reached on the 27th of June. Intending to stop a few days here, he sent on three of his ships to *Española*, himself sailing on the 5th of July.

The Admiral had determined on following a more Southern route than in either of his former voyages, and having reached the parallel of 5° North, found himself in that zone of calms and baffling winds between the trade winds,—suffering under such heat as had never been experienced, which was not lessened by the deluge of rain with which it was accompanied. The effect was felt severely both by ships and crews, the latter suffering from illness, from which Columbus was not exempt. Having escaped from this durance, he continued on his Westerly course until the heights of the island of *Trinidad* were descried. The island appears to owe this name to the circumstance of three of its loftiest peaks being first seen, suggesting to the fertile imagination of Columbus the idea of the Trinity not as yet remembered by him in naming his discoveries. He proceeds along the South shore of *Trinidad*, and entered the gulf between it and the shore of America by a channel, which, from the violence of the current, he called the *Boca del Sierpe*,—Serpent's Mouth,—and stood to the North along that shore, and shortly arrived at the Northern entrance of the gulf. Here he found a current more violent than that to the South, and which, from the dangerous nature of it, he named the Dragon's Mouth,—*Boca del Drago*. He now pursued his course to the West along the American shore, but on reaching the islands *Cabagua* and *Margarita*, he left it for *Hispañola*. Anxiety about the settlements, along with fatigue which

he was not then in health to endure, perhaps were the reasons for this measure. And he made for the entrance of the River Ozenie, where he had desired his brother to construct a fortress, one which afterwards became the city of San Domingo, and the principal place in the island. But the current drifted his ship to leeward of this part, and he made the coast to the Westward. Landing a messenger to go to him, he had to undergo a tedious beat to windward, and reached his port on the 30th of August. His brother came out to meet him, and, it is related, was struck with the haggard and worn out appearance of the Admiral. Trouble and anxiety of mind had sorely tried him, while the enervating effects of the climate had severely tested his physical powers.

The affairs of the island and its government now presented a labyrinth of difficulty which he had to encounter, and when it is considered the kind of people he had brought with him, the oppressed condition of the natives, and the disaffection of some of the Spaniards, he now found himself entering on a field of discord and danger, worse than all the trials of navigation he had yet undergone. The troubles of government in quelling little ebullitions of discontent which followed his arrival, and which had been abundantly plentiful in his absence, were nothing in comparison with the open rebellion of Roldan, a Spaniard, whom he had appointed Alcalde, or Chief Magistrate, a post in the government of the island next to that of Adelantado, held by his brother. This man conceived the plan of getting rid of the Adelantado and taking his place; and to effect his purpose, easily won over a body of Spaniards, with fair promises, and raised the natives against him, who were too eager to adopt any course that they believed would rid them of the Spaniards. The Western end of Hispaniola, a department of it called Xaragua, formed the head-quarters of this turbulent rebel, where it was easy to assemble a large body of the natives, too ready to rise against the government. Soon after the arrival of Columbus the three ships which he had sent forward from the Cape de Verd Islands arrived at the West end of the island having been drifted from their reckoning by the current, and their crews strengthened Roldan's party, being easily won over by him, and ready for any such desperate work as he was engaged in. All the conciliatory powers of the Admiral were now devoted to prevent extremities in dealing with the rebels, and after a year nearly employed in overtures, he succeeded in allowing Roldan conditions, which only the peculiar state of affairs and the resources of the Governor would justify, and then once more order and quiet were established in the island. This state of things was

destined, however, to be but of short duration. The elements of discord were in operation at home, and the enemies of Columbus were too successful in laying the foundation of his ruin, the first symptoms of which appeared in the arrival of Alonzo de Ojeda at Xaragua, who had fitted out a ship, and having been encouraged by Fonseca showing him the charts sent home by Columbus, had gone over the same coast as the Admiral in the present voyage. His attempt, however, to disturb the government of Hispaniola was defeated by Roldan, who, by a bold artifice, got possession of his boat by mastering his crew, and making them prisoner; and Ojeda, knowing that he was infringing the licence he possessed, was content to put up with the loss, and sailed from the island. This voyage of Ojeda obtains interest from the presence of Amerigo Vespucci, an expert Florentine navigator, on board, who was destined afterwards to take that prominent part in the future voyages of the Spaniards by which his name was left to the continents of the New World, on the borders of which the ships of the Spaniards as well as the Portuguese were hovering. Columbus had always imagined that Cuba was but an Eastern promontory of Asia, and the coast of Paria, which had been his last discovery, a large island, and had bestowed names with that religious veneration which always signalized him. To leave his own name anywhere, seems to have been the farthest from his mind, nor was the desire of doing so to be imputed to Amerigo, who was rather of a modest retiring disposition than one which would court publicity by any such act. The character of Amerigo Vespucci was one which obtained for him respect and admiration both for his talents as a seaman and good cosmographer, as well as a good man.

The affairs of Hispaniola were now in a prosperous condition. Rebellion was quelled, the natives resigned to their fate, the crops abundant, and everything progressing satisfactorily under the able management of the Adelantado, Bartholomew, the brother of Columbus, assisted by his advice, when consternation was spread around by the arrival of Francisco de Bobadilla, who had been appointed Commissioner from Spain to inquire into the affairs of the government, and invested with power, if he found them such as to disapprove of, to take on himself the office of Governor. Of course he did so. The enemies of Columbus had succeeded entirely in this appointment. The Commissioner was a man who needed no consideration of the state of affairs in the government of Hispaniola. His object was the station of Governor; and very soon after his arrival the Adelantado Bar-

tholomew, Columbus himself, and his son Diego, were prisoners in chains. Bobadilla had collected a mass of absurd charges against them, founded on false evidence of the most gross and improbable kind, and with this they were sent home for trial. To the honour of the Captain, who commanded the ship in which they were embarked, be it said that he respectfully offered to release the Admiral from his irons as soon as they had sailed; but which he positively refused, with the observation, that they had been placed on him by the King's command and by his command only should they be removed. The arrival of the Admiral in so humiliating a condition excited public indignation greatly in his favour, and a letter which Columbus had written during the voyage to a lady who had charge of the Prince Juan, having reached the Queen, produced the effect of ordering him forthwith to Court, and supplying him with the means of complying with the order in a manner becoming his rank. In the month of December following his arrival, Columbus appeared at Court, and was "received by their Majesties with unqualified favour and distinction. When the Queen beheld this venerable man approach, and thought on all he had deserved and on all he had suffered, she was moved to tears. Columbus had borne up firmly against the stern conflicts of the world,—he had endured with lofty scorn the injuries and insults of ignoble men,—but he possessed a strong and quick sensibility." Washington Irving continues the interesting description of this interview with the Sovereigns, and his reception by Isabella, to which the reader may refer, and at the end of which Bobadilla was declared to have acted contrary to his orders, and Columbus was to be restored to his former privileges and dignities.

FOURTH VOYAGE.

1502—1504.

It has been well observed that although the early discoveries of the Portuguese in the East were richer than those of the Spaniards in the West, the latter were made by boldly sailing across the ocean, while the former were contented to extend theirs along the African

coast, without leaving it. The Portuguese had by this means doubled the Cape, and had reached India under Cabral, who had returned about the time that Columbus had again applied to the Spanish Government to be sent on a voyage to ascertain if there was not some straight route by which those parts could be reached from the West which he had left. Four caravels were assigned to him on this expedition, manned by 150 men, with which he sailed from Cadiz on the 11th of May, 1504, arrived at the Grand Canary on the 20th, and finally left Ferro on the 26th of that month. On the 15th of June he discovered land, called Mantinino, (*St. Lucia*,) and here the opinions of the seamen were taken as to the course to be followed, when it was agreed they should go to *Espanola*. He was not permitted to anchor nor enter the port of *St. Domingo*. Here he encountered a severe storm, which, however, his vessels weathered after suffering, and in which several ships of a large fleet that was destined for Spain foundered, with all on board, among whom were his enemies, Bobadilla and Roldan, with others who had contributed to his misfortunes. A considerable amount of gold and other property was lost, and it is stated that only one was left to make the voyage to Spain, and that one contained a large quantity of gold belonging to Columbus.

From *St. Domingo* Columbus steered Westward, and on the 14th of July made the island of *Jamaica*, about the *Morant Cays*, from whence he stood to the Northward to Cuba, which having been already discovered, he stood away to the Southward, and made an island now called *Guanaja* (*Bonacca* of the charts,) from whence he discovered the coast of *Truxillo*, about ten leagues distant, and sailed for it, taking with him an Indian of the island as interpreter; arriving in the port of *Truxillo*, near a point called by the Admiral *Point Caxinas*. From thence he continued discovering the coast to the Eastward, anchoring at night, and called the *Rio Tinto* of the chart *Rio de la Possession*. But it was not until the 14th of September that he was able to reach *Cape Gracias á Dios*, having experienced nothing but a succession of gales and adverse winds, in the course of which his sorrows were increased by the reflection that he had been the means of bringing his brother and son with him in the voyage to undergo all the suffering they had thus endured.

At length, having rounded *Cape Gracias á Dios*, he stood to the Southward along the coast, in hopes of finding a strait leading to the Westward, anchoring at *Blewfields* and *Port San Juan de Nicaragua*. Thence he continued to the large bay which bears the name of *Bahia del Almirante*, naming the *Boca del Toro*, and took

on board Indians, who informed him of another still larger to the Eastward, called by them *Alburema*, (the *Chiriqui Lagoon* of the chart,) where he was on the 7th of October. From thence continuing to the Eastward, till, on the 2nd of November, he came to a harbour which he gave the name of *Portobelo*, where he was obliged to leave one of his ships (the *Vizcaina*) on account of her rotten condition, and continuing onward arrived at the *River Guyga* (*Veragua* of the chart,) and thence went to *Puerto del Retrete*, (*Port Escrebanos* of the chart,) in which he arrived on the 26th of November. Columbus remained here until the 5th of December, when he returned Westward, in consequence of information from the Indians he had on board that gold would not be found any further to the Eastward, but might be had on the coast they had passed.

On the 10th of January Columbus entered the port of *Belen*, at the mouth of that river, after experiencing more severe weather. The Admiral had already endured much from bad weather, but describes this in bitter terms.

"For nine days," he says, "I wandered about (at sea) without a hope of escape. Never was the sea beheld so tumultuous, or in so frightful a condition of foam: the wind would admit of no sailing or of making for the shelter of land, and kept us writhing about in waves boiling as if it were in a huge cauldron over a raging fire. The skies never presented so fearful an aspect. One whole day and night they were perpetually on fire, emitting flames like the mouth of an oven, and the lightning gleam seemed every moment as if it would consume the ships. During all this time rain was incessant—rain it should not be called, for it was the deluge repeated again. The men were so exhausted that they desired to die rather than undergo such martyrdom. The ships were without anchors leaking throughout, and bereft of sail."

It was with difficulty the ships found their way into this river to which they had come on account of the gold mines that were reported to be near it, and after contentions with the natives, who destroyed a settlement which he had formed, and killed many of his men, he was glad to leave it, although he was obliged to abandon another of his ships in consequence of being unable to get her over the bar. With the other two he commenced his return to *Española*, continuing first to the Eastward nearly as far as the entrance to the *Gulf of Darien*, shaping his course to the Northward, on the 1st of May, 1503. Instead of arriving at *Española* Columbus reached the coast of Cuba, after making the *Caymanes chicos*, according to Navarrete, on the 10th. The current had set him so far to the

Westward that he reached the coast of *Cuba* about the *Jardines*, where he experienced another narrow escape from wreck, and had to make his way to windward along the coast as well as he could in his shattered vessels. Despairing of reaching *Española*, on the 24th of June, 1503, he sought refuge in the Bay of *St. Anne*, on the North coast of *Jamaica*, where, finding his vessels in so leaky and disabled a condition as to endanger the safety of all on board, he was compelled to resort to the last extremity of running them on shore, and thus cutting off all hopes of escape unless assistance was sent to him from that island at which he had been already denied shelter on his arrival from Spain.

It has been well observed, that "the measure of his calamities seemed now to be full. He was cast ashore upon an island at a considerable distance from the only settlement of the Spaniards in America. His ships were ruined beyond the possibility of being repaired. To convey an account of his situation to Hispaniola appeared impossible, and without this it was vain to expect relief."

Between the 24th of June, 1503, and the 28th of the same month of 1504, Columbus and his brother Bartholomew underwent a series of sufferings in Jamaica, arising from the rebellion of some of his people, the want of provisions, the hostility of the Indians, which he overcame by the celebrated story of the eclipse of the moon, the unpardonable hostility of Ovando, the Governor of *St. Domingo*, and the difficulty which his faithful follower Mundog, who had made his way in a canoe to the island from Jamaica, had experienced in obtaining a vessel. At length, having succeeded, Ovando despatched another with her, and on the 28th of June Columbus, with his people, left Jamaica, and arrived at *St. Domingo* on the 13th of August, being received with much respect by Ovando. On the 12th of September the Admiral left *St. Domingo* with two vessels, with one of which only, and that in a most disabled condition, he entered the Port of *San Lucar* on the 7th of November following.

Soon after his return, the Admiral, enfeebled by age, and worn out by illness, the result of those hardships which he had undergone, particularly in his last voyage, had the additional misfortune to lose his patroness Isabella. He now directed all his efforts to obtaining for his brother Bartholomew a reward for his services, and died, at the age of 71, on the 26th of May, 1506; his remains were deposited in the convent of *San Francisco*, at *Valladolid*. In the year 1513 they were transferred to the monastery of *Cartujos de las Cuevas*, in *Seville*; in which same monastery were deposited those of his son *Don Diego*, who died the 23rd of February, 1526. In

the year 1536 the remains of the Admiral and his son Diego were delivered for transfer to the city of Santo Domingo, in the island of Española, where they were interred in the cathedral by the altar. Here they lay until 1796, when the island was ceded to France, on which occasion they were transferred to Cuba, where they were interred on the right side of the altar of the cathedral in the city of Havana.

The following (Nav. t. i. app. C L.) are the lines of D. Juan Melendez Valdes, to which reference has been made in p. 264.

Desde la popa hincharse
 Ve el ínclito Colon la onda enemiga :
 El trueno retumbar ; la quilla incierta
 Vagar llevada á la merced del viento :
 La Chusma sin aliento,
 Y una honda sima hasta el abismo abierta :
 ¡ Vil galardón á su inmortal fatiga !
 Per él en tanto escribe sin turbarse
 La inclita acción : hallarse
 Podrá un día, exclamando, tan preciado
 Deposito, y mi nombre celebrado
 De la fama será. Quiso benigno
 Darle la mano el cielo ;
 Y entre las ondas placido el camino
 Abrirle fausto hasta el hispano suelo.
 El hombre por su arrojo sin segundo
 Goza doblado el ámbito del mundo.

Among the official documents concerning the Admiral preserved by Navarrete, is that which entitled him to bear a Castle and Lion on his shield, which has been added to the title page of the "Landfall." Drawn up in the usual voluminous style, after much preamble it says, "It is our pleasure, and we give our licence, &c., to place over your own arms a castle and a lion, which we give you for arms : that is to say, the castle of gold on a field of green in the upper right quarter of the shield, and in the other on the left a lion rampant in purple on a field of green : in the lower right quarter of the shield, islands of gold in waves of the sea, and in the left lower quarter your own arms which you are accustomed to bear. The foregoing are to be considered as your arms and those of your descendants in perpetuity."—Nav. vol. ii., doc. xx., p. 36-7.

EXTRACTS FROM THE JOURNAL OF COLUMBUS,

WITH THEIR TRANSLATION,

Showing his Progress from the Landfall to Cuba.

El Almirante salió á tierra en la barca armada y Martin Alonso Pinzon y Vicente Anes, su hermano, que era Capitan de la Niña p. 20, l. 17—20. tomó posesion de la dicha isla por el Rey é por la Reina, p. 21, l. 2, 3.... Luego se ayuntó allí mucha gente de la isla, l. 6. venian ... adonde nós estabamos, nadando, p. 21, l. 16, 17.

Sabado, 13 de Octubre.—Vinieron á la nao con almadias, p. 22, l. 28. Trafan ovillos de algodón filado y papagayos, p. 23, l. 2, 3.... y todo daban por qualquiera cosa que se los diese, p. 23, l. 4, 5.

Domingo, 14 de Octubre.—En ameneciendo mandé aderezar el batel de la nao y las barcas de las carabelas, y fue al luengo de la isla, en el camino del Nor nordeste, para ver la otra parte que era de la otra parte del Leste que habia, y tambien para ver los poblaciones, y vide luego dos ó tres y la gente, que venian todos á la playa, p. 24, l. 3—8. nos llamaban que fuesemos á tierra: mas yo temia de ver una grande restinga de piedras que cerca toda aquella isla al rededor, l. 19—21.... dentro desta cinta, l. 24.... la mar non se mueve mas que dentro en un pozo, l. 25... Yo admiré todo aquel puerto, y despues me volví á la nao y di la vela, y vide tantas islas que yo no sabia de-

Friday, 12th of October.—The Admiral landed in the boat armed, with Martin Alonso Pinzon and Vincent Anes, his brother, who was Captain of the Niña, and took formal possession of the island in the name of the King and Queen. A large number of natives soon collected. Natives swam out to the ship.

Saturday, 13th of October.—Ship visited by the natives in canoes—bringing with them balls of cotton and parrots for sale—they gave everything they had for whatever was given to them.

Sunday, 14th of October.—At daylight, I directed the boats of the ship to be prepared, and the boats of the caravels and went by the North-North-East round the island to see what there was on the opposite side to the East, which I had seen, and to see the settlements; and I soon saw two or three. Natives came running to the shore, inviting us to land. But I was afraid of a reef which surrounds the island, but within which the water is quite smooth as in a well. Surveyed the harbour with much satisfaction, and afterwards returned to the ship and made sail, and saw so many islands did not know to which to go first. Natives that I had taken made signs that they were innumerable.

terminarme á cual iria primero, y aquellos hombres que yo tenia tomado me decian por señas que eran tantas y tantas que no habia número, p. 23, l. 6—10..... Por ende yo miré por la mas grande, y aquella determiné andar, y así hago, y será lejos desta de *San Salvador*, cinco leguas y las otras dellas mas, dellas menos: todas son muy llanas, sin montañas y muy fértiles, p. 25, l. 11—14.

Lunes, 15 de Octubre.—Habia temporejado esta noche con temor de no llegar á tierra á surgir antes de la mañana por no saber si la costa era limpia de bajas, p. 25, l. 19—21 Y como la isla fuese mas lejos de cinco leguas, antes será siete, y la marea me detuvo, seria medio dia cuando llegué á la dicha isla, y fallé que aquella haz, que es de la parte de la isla de *San Salvador*, se corre Norte Sur, y hay en ella cinco leguas, y la otra que yo seguí se corría Leste Oeste, y hay en ella mas de diez leguas. Y como desta isla vide otra mayor al Oeste, cargué las velas, l. 23—29. á la cual puse nom l. 25, bre la *isla de Santa Maria de la Concepcion*, y cuasi al poner del sol surgi acerca del dicho cabo, p. 26, l. 1, 2.

Martes, 16 de Octubre.—en ameneciendo fui á tierra con las barcas armadas, l. 9, 10..... y nos dejaron ir por la isla y nos daban lo que les pedia. Y porque el viento cargaba á la travesa Sueste no me quise detener, l. 12—14. Y así partí, que serian las diez horas, con el viento Sueste y tocaba de Sur para pasar á estotra isla, la cual es grandisima, p. 27, l. 16—18 Y habia de esta isla de Santa Maria á esta otra nueve leguas Leste Oeste, y se corre toda esta parte de la isla Norueste Sueste, l. 21—24. mas de veinte y ocho leguas en este faz, y es muy llana sin montaña ninguna, así como aquellas de *San Salvador* y de Santa *María*, l. 24—27. Y estando á medio golfo destas

Looked for the largest and resolved to go to that, *as I am doing*. It is about five leagues off this of *San Salvador*, some more and some less. They are all even and without mountains, very fertile.

Monday, 15th of October.—Lay by all night so as not to arrive off the island to land before daylight, not knowing whether the shore is clear of rocks. Found the island further off than five leagues - it is rather seven - and the current detained us so that it was noon before we arrived at it. And I found the side of the island next to *San Salvador* trends North and South five leagues; the other, *which I followed*, lay East and West more than ten leagues. And as I saw another large island to the Westward, I made sail and I gave it the name of *Santa Maria de la Concepcion*. About sunset I anchored off the cape of this island.

Tuesday, 16th of October.—At daylight landed with the boats armed. Natives suffered us to go where we liked, and gave us what we asked for. Wind being South-East, hastened to depart. About ten a.m. made sail with the wind at South-East to proceed to another very large island, borrowing to Southward, nine leagues distant from this East and West. All this part of the island lies North-West and South-East more than twenty-eight leagues—very flat, no mountain; like *San Salvador* and *Santa Maria*. Being half way over, took up a native with his canoe passing from *Santa Maria* to this island of *Fernandina*. Light airs and calm nearly all day.

dos Islas, p. 28, l. 4, 5. fallé un hombre solo en una almadia que se pasaba de Santa Maria, a la Fernandina, l. 7, 8. y navegué... con calma, l. 28, 29.

Miercoles, 17 de Octubre.—Temporicé toda esta noche hasta el dia que vine á una poblacion, adonde yo surgi, é adonde habia venido aquel hombre que yo hallé ayer, p. 28, l. 32—34. á horas de tercia envié el batel de la nao en tierra por agua, p. 29, l. 10, 11. y ellos mismos traian los barriles llenos al batel, p. 29, l. 12, 13. A medio dia partí de la poblacion adonde yo estaba surgido. para ir rodear esta isla Fernandina, y el viento era Sudueste y Sur; p. 30, l. 26—28. y queria llevar el dicho camino de Sur y Sueste, l. 31, 32. á la isla á que ellos llaman *Samocet*, l. 33, 34. y Martin Alonzo Pinzon, l. 33. me dijo que uno dellos, l. 35. le habia dado á entender que l. 36, por la parte del Nornorueste muy mas presto arrojearia la isla, p. 31, l. 1, 2. dí la vela al Nornorueste, y cuando fue acerca del cabo de la isla, á dos leguas, hallé un *muy maravilloso puerto* con una boca, aunque dos bocas se le puede decir, porque tiene un isleo en medio, y son ambas muy angostas, l. 3—7. y así surgi fuera dél, y fufen él con todas las barcas de los navíos, l. 10—11. mandado llevar barriles para tomar agua, y en tierra hallé unos ocho ó diez hombres, l. 12—14. y nos amotraron allí cerca la poblacion, adonde yo envié la gente por agua, l. 14, 15. detuve por espacio de dos horas, l. 17, 18. Despues de tomada agua volví á la nao y dí la vela, y salí al Norueste tanto que yo descubrí toda aquella parte de la isla hasta la costa que se corre Leste Oeste, p. 32, l. 12—15. El viento allí luego mas calmó y commenzó a ventar Onenorueste, l. 17, 18. y así tomé la vuelta y navegué toda esta noche, l. 20, 21.

Wednesday, 17th of October.—I laid by until daylight, when we anchored off a settlement to which the native had come who was picked up yesterday. At nine sent boat on shore for water. Natives assisted in carrying casks to the boat. About noon made sail from the settlement, wind South-West and South, to round the island, being anxious to get to the South-East for the island which the natives call *Samocet*. Martin Alonzo Pinzon told me that one of them had given him to understand that we should soon round the island to the North-North-West. Made sail in that direction, and when about two leagues from the cape found a *remarkable port* with two entrances it may be said, for it has a rocky islet, but very narrow. Anchored outside and went into it with all the boats of the ships with casks for water. Found eight or ten natives, who showed them the settlement and where to find it. Detained about two hours, and having obtained water, returned to ship, made sail to North-West, and discovered the coast of the island as far as where it runs East and West. Wind then shifted to West-North-West, light—so I turned round and steered East-South-East and East sometimes and South-East sometimes all night,

al Lestesueste, y cuando al Leste todo y cuando al Sueste, 21, 22.

Jueves, 18 de Octubre.—y esto para apartarme de la tierra porque hacia muy gran cerrazon y el tiempo muy cargado, p. 32, l. 21—24... llovió muy fuerte despues de media noche hasta cuasi el dia, l. 25 y nos al cabo de la isla de la parte del Sueste adonde espero surgir fasta que aclarezca para ver las otras islas adonde tengo de ir; l. 26—28. Despues que aclaresció seguí el viento, y fui en deredor de la isla quanto pude, y surgi mas no fui en tierra, p. 33, l. 1—4.

Viernes, 19 de Octubre -- En amaneciendo levanté las anclas, y envié la carabela Pinta al Leste y Sueste y la Carabela Niña al Sursueste, y yo con la nao fui al Sueste, y dado orden que llevasen aquella vuelta fasta medio dia, y despues que ambas se mudasen las derrotas y se recogieran para mí; y luego antes que andásemos tres horas vimos una isla al Leste, sobre la cual descargamos, y llegamos á ella sobre tres navios antes de medio dia á la punta del Norte, adonde hace un isleo y una restinga de piedra fuera de él al Norte, y otro entre él y la isla grande; la cual anombrraron, l. 7—16... isla *Saomete*, á la cual puse nombre la *Isabela*. El viento era Norte, y quedaba el dicho isleo en derrota de la isla *Fernandina*, de adonde habia partido Leste oeste, y se corria despues la costa desde el isleo al Oeste, y habia en ella doce leguas fasta un cabo, á quien yo llamé el *Cabo hermoso*, que es de la parte del Oeste; y así es hermoso, redondo y muy fondo, sin bajas fuera de él, y al comienzo es de piedra y bajo, y mas adentro es playa de arena como cuasi la dicha costa es, y ahí surgi, l. 17—26 esta tierra es mas alta que las otras islas falladas, l. 31, al Nordeste hace una grande angla, p. 34, l. 2, 3 Yo quise ir á surgir en ella para salir á tierra, l. 4, 5 mas era el fondo bajo y

Thursday, 18th of October.—to keep off the land, for the weather became very bad—and rain fell from midnight till nearly daylight, and we at the South-East part of the island, where I hope to anchor till it clears up, that we may find the other islands to which we have to go. As soon as it cleared up we made sail and went round the island as far as we could, and then anchored—but did not land.

Friday, 19th of October.—At daylight tripped the anchor. Sent the Pinta to East-South-East, and the Niña to South-South-East, and I, in the ship, steered South-East. Caravels ordered to keep the courses given till noon, and then to rejoin ship. Presently, before sailing three hours, discovered an island to the Eastward, for which we steered, and all three arrived off the North point of it by noon; where it makes a bare rocky islet off it and a reef Northward of it, and also between it and the island. Natives call this island *Saometo*—named it *Isabella*.^o The wind was North: and the islet bears from *Fernandina*, whence I had parted, East and West. The coast thence trends to the Westward twelve leagues, as far as a cape, which I call *Cape Hermoso*—which is on the Western part—has no rocks off it—the shore is first rocky, and further in sandy, as nearly all the coast is. And here I anchored. Island much higher than others discovered. It makes a great angle to the North-East. I wished to have anchored there to land, but found the water shoal with foul ground, and could only have done so far from land. This, which I named *Cape Hermoso*, is separated from *Saometo*—there are even small islands between them.

no podia surgir salvo largo de la tierra, *l. 5, 6*.....Este á quien yo digo *Cabo Famoso* creo que es isla apartada de *Saometo*, y aun hay ya otra entremedias pequeña, *l. 29, 31*.

Sábado 20 de Octubre.—Hoy al sol salido levanté las anclas de donde yo estaba con la nao surgido en esta isla de *Saometo* al cabo del Sudueste, adonde yo puse nombre *el Cabo de la Laguna* y á la isla la *Isabela*, para navegar al Nordeste y al Leste de la parte del Sueste y Sur, *p. 35, l. 1—6* y fallé todo tan bajo el fondo que no pude entrar ni navegar á ello, y vide que siguiendo el camino del Sudueste era muy gran rodeo, y por esto determiné de me volver por el camino que habia traído del Nornordeste de la parte del Oeste, *l. 8—12*.....el viento me fue tan escaso que yo nunca pude haber la tierra al longo de la costa salvo en la noche; y porques peli gro surgir en estas islas, salvo en el dia, *l. 13—15* yo me puse á temporejar á la vela toda esta noche, *l. 17, 18*.....Las carabelas surgieron porque se hallaron en tierra temprano, y pensaron que á sus señas, *l. 20*.....iria á surgir; mas no quise, *l. 21*.

Domingo, 21 de Octubre.—A las diez horas llegué aquí á este cabo del isleo, y surgi y asimismo las cabelas; y despues de haber comido fui en tierra, adonde aquí no habia otra poblacion que una casa, en la cual no fallé á nadie que creo con temor se habian fugido *p. 35, l. 23—27* salí con estos capitanes *l. 28*...a ver la isla, *l. 29* grandes arboledos, *l. 31* Aquí es grandes lagunas, *p. 36, l. 1* y el cantar de los pajaritos, *l. 4* fuimos a una poblacion, *l. 21*...y porque la amistad creciese mas y los requiriese algo le hice pedir agua, y ellos despues que fui en la nao vinieron luego á la playa con sus calabazas llenas, *l. 28, 31*.

Lunes 22 de Octubre — Toda esta noche y hoy estuve aquí aguardando

Saturday, 20th of October.—At sunrise tripped our anchors and made sail for the South-West cape of *Saometo*, which I named *Cape Laguna*, and the island *Isabella*, to navigate to the North-East and Eastward by the South-East and South, and found all so shallow that I could not enter it to navigate there, and I saw by going to South-West it would be a long way round —resolved therefore to return by same route as we had come to North-North-East on the West side. Wind too scant for ship to lay up along shore except at night; and being dangerous to anchor in the dark, kept under sail all night. The *Pinta* and *Niña* anchored because they reached the shore early, and made signs as usual to me to do so, but I would not.

Sunday, 21st of October.—At ten arrived at former anchorage off *Cabo del Isleo*, and also the caravels. After dinner landed, and found no other settlement but one hut, whose owners had deserted it from fear of us. Went with officers to explore the island. Here are abundance of trees and parrots, and large lagoons, —also a settlement. And in order to increase our friendship (with natives) and as they might want something, I directed water to be asked, and they soon brought calabashes full of it to the shore after I went on board.

Monday, 22nd of October.—At anchor off *Cape Isleo*. Waiting to

si el Rey de aquí ó otras personas traieran oro, p. 37, l. 14, 15 y vinieron muchos de esta gente, l. 16 Tomamos agua para los navíos en una laguna que aquí está acerca del cabo del isleo, l. 28, 29.

Martes, 23 de Octubre.—Quisiera hoy partir para la isla de Cuba, p. 38, l. 2 pues veo que aquí no hay mina de oro, y al rodear de estas islas ha menester de muchas maneras de viento, l. 7—9 calma muerta y llueve mucho, l. 22.

Miércoles, 24 de Octubre.—Esta noche á media noche levanté las anclas de la Isla Isabela del cabo del isleo, p. 38, l. 26, 28, y así navegué fasta el día al Ouesudueste, y ameneciendo calmó el viento y llovió, p. 39, l. 5, 6 y estuve así con poco viento fasta que pasaba de medio día y entonces tornó á ventar muy amoroso, y llevaba todas mis velas de la nao, maestra y dos bonetas, y trinquete, y cebadera, y mezana, y vela de gavia y el batel por popa; así anduve al camino fasta que anocheció y entonces me quedaba el Cabo Verde de la isla Fernandina, el cual es de la parte de Sur á la parte de Oeste, me quedaba al Norueste, y hacía de mí á él siete leguas. Y porque ventaba ya recio, l. 5—15 acordé de amainar las velas todas, salvo el trinquete, l. 21—22 y era muy gran cerazon y llovía; mandé amainar el trinquete, y no anduvimos esta noche dos leguas, l. 24—26.

Jueves, 25 de Octubre.—Navegó despues del sol salido al Oeste Sudueste hasta las nueve horas, andarian cinco leguas: despues mudó el camino al Oeste: andaban ocho millas por hora hasta la una despues de medio día, y de allí hasta las tres, y andarian cuarenta y cuatro millas. Entonces vieron tierra, y eran siete á ocho islas, en luengo todas de Norte á Sur: distaban de ellas cinco leguas, p. 39, l. 27—33.

Viernes, 26 de Octubre.—Estuvo de las dichas islas de la parte del

see the King of the island or his messengers, or other person who would bring gold, &c. Visited by natives. Obtained water for the ship from a lagoon near cabo del isleo.

Tuesday, 23rd of October.—Anxious to depart for Cuba. I conclude that there is no gold mine in the island. And I see that to go round the island it would require the wind from all quarters. Dead calm and much rain.

Wednesday, 24th of October.—At midnight tripped the anchor from Cabo del Isleo and made sail for Cuba. Steered West-North-West until daylight, when it fell calm, with rain, and so I continued with light airs and calm until past noon, when I made all sail to a gentle breeze, setting the mainsail with both bonnets, the foresail, the spritsail, and mizen and main-topsail, and the boat on the poop. Stood on thus till evening, when Cape Verde of Fernandina, which is the southernmost of the West part, bore North-West seven leagues. Wind blew strong. Shortened sail to the foresail—afterwards took in the foresail—and did not make good two leagues.

Thursday, 25th of October.—After sunrise up to nine a.m. steered West-South-West five leagues. At nine altered course to West—up to one, p.m., went eight miles an hour and also from one, p.m., to three, and went forty-four miles—then discovered land, consisting of seven or eight islets, extending North and South five leagues distant.

Friday, 26th of October.—At anchor off the South end of the Isles

Sur, era todo bajo cinco ó seis leguas, surgió por allí, p. 40, l. 2, 3.

Sábado, 27 de Octubre—Levantó las anclas salido el sol de aquellas islas, que llamó *las islas de Arena*, por el poco fondo que tenían de la parte del Sur hasta seis leguas. Anduvo ocho millas por hora hasta la una del día Sursudueste, y habrían andado cuarenta millas, y hasta la noche andarían veinte y ocho millas al mismo camino, y antes de noche vieron tierra, p. 40, l. 11—16... mucha lluvia. Anduvieron el Sábado hasta el poner del sol diez y siete leguas al Sursudueste, l. 18—19.

Domingo, 28 de Octubre—Fue de allí en demanda de la isla de Cuba al Sursudueste, á la tierra della mas cercana, y entró en un rio muy hermoso y muy sin peligro de bajas ni otros inconvenientes, y toda la costa que anduvo por allí era muy hondo y muy limpio hasta tierra, p. 40, l. 21—25.

Arenas—distant five or six leagues.

Saturday, 27th of October.—At sunrise tripped the anchor and made sail from off those islands which I call *Islas Arenas*, from the shoal water there is for six leagues to the southward of them. Up to one p.m. steered South-South-West, and made good eight miles an hour, or forty miles (equal to ten leagues). Up to evening ran twenty-eight miles on same course (making seven leagues) and before night discovered land. Had run up to sunset to-day seventeen leagues South - South-West. Heavy rain.

Sunday, 28th of October.—Standing South-South-West for nearest land of Cuba, and entered a beautiful inlet without danger from rocks or other hindrance. The coast passed was bold and clear to the shore.

NOTES.

Note I.—Page 61.

“ In the year 1519, not many years afterwards, Navarrete tells us that Martin Fernandez de Enciso, in his *Suma de Geografia*, alludes to the church as the only remnant of it standing. But to preserve its name a hermitage was founded at Huelva, with the title of Nuestra Señora de Saltes, in which the cross is preserved, the only relict left of the place ; but vestiges of the town are yet to be seen.”

The Spanish shores frequented by Columbus excite an interest which one desires to satisfy by a reference to the chart. One could not expect to find any representation of what the port of Huelva was in his day, but might fairly look for a chart showing its present condition. But, alas, we can find neither the one nor the other,—neither for the Antiquarian nor the Seaman ; there is only a conglomeration of something of no further possible use than to indicate the position of Huelva.

The shores from which Columbus sailed on his first voyage, are still in want of another Tofiño to delineate them as he did those on the North coast of Spain. We look in vain for another series of well finished plans, on a good liberal scale, when we come to the Spanish shores,—such as those to which we have been accustomed on the coast of France. The best charts of the Spanish coast are those published by that Government in 1836, comprising a portion of the North-West coast on a scale of 0·46 to the inch. These are by Captain F. Florez, of the Spanish Navy, but what plans there are, such as Cadiz, and all the ports, are antiquated, out of date, and ought to be out of print. While the several maritime states of Europe have been one and all promoting commerce by having good charts made of their coasts and harbours and published on a liberal scale, all we can find of the coast of Spain is a chart of

the coast about Cape Finisterre, and a modern plan of the mouth of the Guadalquivir. While that interesting part near the mouths of the Odiel and the Tinta and all their neighbouring shores from Cape St. Vincent to the Straits, celebrated in ancient history as the scene of traffic as well as deadly fray about the time of Columbus, are much in the same condition on the chart now as they would have been left by him. What can be worse than this, or the chart of the approaches to the coast of Barcelona, about the mouth of the Llobregat. Let us hope this state of things will not last long, that the example of Europe in encouraging hydrography will be followed in the South, and that we shall see an atlas of the Spanish coast rivaling the finished productions of Beautemps Beaupré and surpassing our own.

As for Portugal, her hydrographical energies seem to have long since passed away. Their days seem to have been numbered with those of Pimentel! We have never even seen a Portuguese plan of her two principal harbours of Lisbon and Oporto,—for even these our ships have always been indebted to the labours of our own officers. How long is this reproach to attach to a country which in former days extended maritime discovery along the African shores to the Cape and thence to India? Is all the ancient renown of that long list of Portuguese seamen, from Bartholomew Diaz, Vasco da Gama, and Cabral, never to be revived; the very islands of the Atlantic, Fernando Noronha, Tristan da Cunha, and Fernao do Po, are a reproach to the present generation when we look for their works in hydrography! The maritime energies of the Portuguese seem to have gone by as an era in history, and not a spark is left that once animated the amiable spirit of Prince Henry with that zeal for the success of maritime geography which established the celebrated school of Sagres.

Let us hope that those two countries, whose seamen are so celebrated in maritime enterprise of former days, will ere long follow the example set to them by the rest of the European states, the shores of which are washed by the sea: that they will not forget their former greatness and feel the full force of those observations made by the celebrated veteran French Vice-Admiral Baudin over the remains of his companion at sea the no less celebrated Beautemps Beaupré. They are words worth repeating; they cannot be too widely disseminated, affecting as they do the very essence of the prosperity of nations, in the encouragement of foreign commercial enterprise. Admiral Baudin said:—

“ La science de l'hydrographie, qui a pour but de déterminer la

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configuration exacte des côtes que baigne la mer, et du fond même de cette mer, dans le voisinages des côtes, est une des sciences les plus éminemment utile à l'humanité. En offrant aux marins des moyens de se guider de jour et de nuit, à travers des labyrinthes d'écueils et de dangers, elle leur épargne beaucoup d'inquiétudes, de difficultés et de retards; elle devient une auxiliaire de la force navale du pays; elle préserve du naufrage de nombreuses existences; enfin elle facilite le développement du commerce maritime, cette grande source de prospérité publique. Sous tous ces rapports, nulle science n'a plus de droit à notre intérêt, à notre gratitude, à nos respects."

Discours prononcés aux funérailles de M. Beutemps Beupré.

Note II.—Page 65.

Should the reader desire it he will find this document in the Baron's work of five volumes entitled "A Critical Inquiry into the History of the New Continent," a document as unworthy of being consulted in an inquiry into *critical* geography as could well be found. It is the clumsy production of an illiterate seaman, showing islands and coasts huddled together in happy confusion. Even the islands of San Domingo and Cuba are placed to the Northward of the tropic, making the Southern shore of the latter 5° wrong in latitude, besides other faults too numerous to notice. It is not deserving of attention even as a drawing. It would be scarcely possible to find a more unworthy document to employ in the determination of so intricate a question as the Landfall of Columbus, which has foiled the attempts of those who have endeavoured to discover it for above three and a half centuries. In comparison with the charts which we are told Columbus used to sell for his livelihood, it would have remained in its merited obscurity.

Note III.—Page 66.

It is most probable they were left at Gomera to prepare supplies of provisions, fuel, &c., for the voyage, so as to be ready for embarkation by the time the Admiral returned with the Pinta from the Grand Canary, whither that vessel had gone for repair.

Señor Navarrete has been so sparing of his information of the proceedings of Columbus among these islands, which he had chosen for the place of his departure, that the dates have been obtained from "Humboldt's Critical Inquiry." The Baron seems to doubt

the circumstance of the eruption witnessed by Columbus having taken place from the peak or cone of the volcano, because the Admiral makes use of the term of *sierra* instead of *picacho*, the latter signifying the peak or pointed part, while *sierra* is a more general term for height, and therefore considers it to have been a lateral eruption. He also ridicules the assertion of the son, who states, in his work, that the seamen were alarmed at the eruption, and the Admiral endeavoured to quiet their alarms, referring to the eruptions of Mount Etna, with which they must have been well acquainted. The Baron observes, that not only these must have been common to them, but even the eruptions of the Canaries themselves, as the Spanish and Portuguese seamen would witness them in their passages to the coast of Africa for the purpose of supplying the markets of Seville and Lisbon with slaves. There would have been more probability of this in the Mediterranean, as the eruptions of the Canaries are so very few. But the fact of the date of these eruptions being thus noted for the first time, is of more importance than whether it was lateral or from the peak. The earliest are reported by the country people to have taken place in 1430, when some mamelons between Orotava and the port were thrown up. The Peak, or Sugar-loaf, standing in the crater, was seen by the Venetian navigator, Ca Da Mosto, in 1455, and called by him the *Lapis Adomantinus*.

There is a remark quoted by Captain Glas relating to earthquakes and their effects on ships, that is worth preserving. He says:—"The noise of the volcano was heard twenty leagues off at sea, and it is credibly attested that the sea shook at that distance with such violence as alarmed the mariners, who imagined the ship had struck upon a rock, till the continuance of the motion gave them the first intimation of the real cause. A torrent of sulphur and melted ores of different kinds rushed forth from this last volcano towards Guimar, the houses and public buildings of which were thrown down by the violence of the earthquake." The foregoing refers to the great explosion of the volcano of Tenerife, in 1764, and establishes the curious fact of the great distance to which the sea will be affected by these eruptions, so as to produce the effect of its immediate proximity to ships which may be even sixty miles from it. Numerous reports have appeared from time to time in the "Nautical Magazine" of the Admiralty.

It will not be out of place to note here the dates when the several islands of this group were taken possession of by the Spaniards. Señor Joaquim Jose de Macedo, the learned Secretary of the Royal

Academy of Sciences at Lisbon, in an elaborate memoir of considerable research, has shown that they were not known to the Arabs earlier than to the Portuguese. However this may be, the Spanish possession of them was not effected without a long series of wars, when they were taken from the natives of the islands.

The four islands, Lancerote, Fuerteventura, Gomera, and Hierro, were taken possession of between 1400 and 1406: the two former lying so near to the coast of Africa, suffer from the North-East winds, and are flat and arid, without trees or water. Gomera appears to have been a favourite island of the Spaniards, in which it is said they have bred more mules than in any other. Gran Canaria was taken possession of in 1487, and obtained its title of Gran or Grande (Great) not from its size, but from the courage and number of its inhabitants. Palma followed in 1491, and Tenerife in 1495, so that this was not a Spanish possession when Columbus departed from these islands on his voyage.

Note IV.—Page 66.

Commander Church, who was employed in the survey of the Canary Islands, gives the following account of the state of Gomera at the time he was there. "I was with Captain (Admiral) Vidal surveying the Western Canaries, as well as with Arlett employed upon the Eastern islands of the group; in fact, upon every one of them I had work to do. In 1836, while with Admiral Vidal, I was left in the decked barge to survey Hierra, Gomera, and Palma, whilst he went in the Etna to Gibraltar, for supplies, &c., and as much work was required upon the coasts and interior of these islands in proportion to the time allowed for it, I had not as much leisure or opportunity for inquiries apart from the work in hand as I could have wished. I well recollect, however, whilst at Gomera, that Admiral Vidal made, in my presence, many inquiries about the sojourn of Columbus there; and of a small house having been pointed out by the people as the supposed place which he occupied.

"This little town of St. Sebastian of Gomera, appeared to me never to have exceeded in size, number of houses, &c., even in its palmiest days, the town of Padstow in Cornwall; and its palmy days were those of early Spanish rule in America, when the Spaniards used it as a port of call on their outward and homeward voyages, previously to St. Cruz of Tenerife."

"When I was at Gomera, St. Sebastian had*probably lost more

than half its original habitations, and those remaining were mostly in ruins. In fact, it was a most miserable poverty-stricken place, with no trade or business, except what resulted from the export in small coasting schooners, of the limited produce of the island, to Tenerife. The people were few, ignorant, and apathetic; in fact, 'the spider had spun her web in St. Sebastian.'

"Whilst at St. Sebastian, I tried to get some further account of the Great Navigator, in addition to that obtained by Admiral Vidal, but did not succeed. On making inquiries of the Commander or Governor, named Echeverria, he seemed to weary of the subject, and exhibited surprise at my curiosity, asking me if I was a descendant of Columbus that made me inquire so much about a man who lived 300 years ago."

Note V.—Page 66.

The survey of these islands occupied Captain Vidal from 1834 to 1838 and is but a small portion of the valuable contributions made by this excellent officer to maritime geography, embracing as they do a reconnaissance of the greater part of both coasts of Africa, with the island of Madagascar, and a critical survey of the Gold Coast, extending from Cape St. Paul to the Gambia and a portion about Corisco Bay, with Fernando Po. Besides this extensive tract of coast we have an elaborate survey of the Azores and Madeira, with Porto Santo and the island of Ascension, from him. He was assisted in his operations by several officers, who are still employed in maritime surveying:—Captain Bedford and his brother Commander E. J. Bedford, Commander James Church, and Commander Wood, as well as Lieutenant Sydney; officers whose value in this important branch of the Navy has been long established, and whose attainments render them the ornaments of their profession. Captain Vidal became an Admiral in 1854. When at Gomera, in the course of his survey of the Canaries, his inquiries were naturally directed to the circumstance of Columbus having been there. Cape *Christopher*, on the North coast, near the bay, appears to belong to "Christopher Columbus." And he has mentioned incidentally to the Author that his memory was held in great respect by the islanders, who still possessed some trifling vestige of household furniture endeared to them from having been used by him. It is to be regretted that such matters were not more carefully preserved.

Note VI.—Page 57.

Mons. Jal, in his much esteemed work entitled *Archeologie Navale* has taken considerable pains to arrive at some safe conclusion as to the size, &c., of these vessels. He justly observes that the caravel would be of no more importance than any common hulk if she had not crossed the Atlantic with Columbus. With the derivation of the word from "carabus," as given by Du Cange, he is not satisfied although he gives no other.

A passage, he says, in the life of St. Nil, given by Du Cange shows that the caravel of his time was a very small vessel. He represents mutineers burning and destroying the caravels. It is this kind of caravel, adds M. Jal, to which those of Columbus have been likened by biographers, who have spoken of vessels without decks, in one of which the brave Genoese embarked in search of western lands, a comparison which he considers incorrect.

Pantera, he adds, describes caravels as "very light, swift vessels used by the Portuguese. They are small (*piccioli* is comparative from Pantero, who had been alluding to transports), broad, short, with latine sails;" and he then says, "we shall see by the description of the mast that the caravels were not so small as the word *piccioli* would make it appear. They have four masts; the first has a square sail surmounted by a topsail, the others have each a lateen sail. With these the caravels sail well under all circumstances, and are as quick in manœuvring as if worked with an oar. They have one deck and cannot carry much cargo."

This appears to be a very close description of the caravel used by Columbus: they would thus evidently be light, swift, small vessels. "But," adds M. Jal, "if the caravels of Columbus were not so large as those of the 16th century they were sufficiently so for the Admiral to feel perfectly secure in embarking in them. He must have foreseen that the voyage would be long, that he might find a heavy sea, and would therefore take strong vessels capable of carrying provisions for ninety men. His experience in naval matters had decided his choice of the caravel, therefore it cannot be complained that this kind of vessel was forced upon him rather than any other. 'I went,' says he, 'to the town of Palos, where I equipped three vessels very suitable for such an undertaking, and I left the above port well supplied with plenty of provisions and men.'"

M. Jal then advances as proof of the vessels being strong the severe gale which the *Niña* endured on her way from the Azores to

Lisbon. But this opinion of the good condition of the vessels is by no means confirmed by the necessity there was for repairing the *Pinta* at Grand Canary, the readiness with which the *Santa Maria* opened when she was wrecked, or the complaint which the Admiral makes of the leaky condition of the same *Niña* when she was leaving Samana. This has, however, nothing to do with the size and rig of the vessels.

The caravel was evidently the kind of vessel in fashion at that time best suited for Columbus, being light and swift; but it appears that the Admiral had little choice left to him, and was glad to get what he could, having to depend much on the liberality of the Pinzons to get what he did; and even after the loss of his ship, which was a heavy and notoriously bad sailer, he takes occasion to remark how ill she was adapted to the service on which he was employed.

With reference to the rig of the three vessels, M. Jal explains the term "redondo" as applied to the alteration effected in the *Pinta* at Grand Canary as merely changing the lateen sail (principal one perhaps only) for a square one. The *Niña* remained with her lateen sails, and as to the *Santa Maria*, (the *Nao*, as she was called,) happily Columbus himself informs us on this subject. When leaving the *Isabella* group for Cuba with a light wind he sets all the sails of the ship, naming each of them as follows. His course was to the Southward, and it is likely that he had the wind free from the North-West and that all his sails were serviceable, even to that of his boat on the poop, or he would not have set them. He says,* "I set all the sails of the ship;—the mainsail with two bonnets, the foresail, and spritsail, and the mizen, and the maintopsail, and boat on the poop. M. Jal objects to the setting of sail applying to the boat on the poop, but from the elevated position of it even this would be well calculated to help the ship along in a light wind, for even the poop of the lateen vessel is stated to have been very high. But in the foregoing description the kind of vessel that the *Santa Maria* was, although she had been a caravel, is immediately recognized. It is moreover very probable that she was a large caravel, for even this class of vessel had its augmentative as well as its diminutive, the former *caravellona* and the latter *caravellita*, according to the valuable researches of M. Jal.

* Y llevaba todas mis velas de la Nao, maestra, y dos bonetas, y trinquete, y cebada, y mezana, y vela de gabia, y el batel por popa.—Nav. p. 39.

Disdaining all motives but an honest endeavour to arrive at the truth with respect to these ships of Columbus, M. Jal concludes his dissertation by observing "From all that we have read on the caravels of Columbus it appears that we may conclude, contrary to the general opinion, that these vessels were nearly of as much importance as a modern brig of war mounting twelve or sixteen guns, that they were sound, strong, and fit for the undertaking of the pious Genoese. They were not bad sailors; that in fact they did not resemble those weak impaired vessels, without decks and unprovided with everything, which the imaginations of some geographers have created to make the enterprise more perilous and therefore more creditable than it really was. Christopher Columbus wanted for nothing in his first voyage. Fear sometimes paralysed his fellow labourers, sometimes even want of will. But he had foreseen that he could not carry in such an adventure a large number of men whose confidence in God and in himself would withstand all trials. My aim in the examination I have made of the caravels of Columbus has not been with any desire to lessen the merit of the navigator, but it appeared to me to settle the opinions of historians and seafaring men on a question which has not yet been seriously studied."

M. Jal has here contributed much useful information on this interesting subject, but seems in several respects to have overrated the vessels in point of size and men, as well as condition or fitness for the voyage. The Admiral might indeed have had everything he wanted, but certainly suffered severely in the *Niña* on his voyage home from want of provisions and the means of preparing meals. In point of size, however, and this has relation to the number of men embarked in the expedition, the conclusions of the Baron Bonnefoux appear to be much more reasonable. The caravellone, as the *Santa Maria* must have been, could scarcely have been so large as a vessel of twelve or sixteen guns of even this century. She carried lombards it is true, as they were landed from her wreck, but how many does not appear; and, instead of ninety men each, M. Steinitz says the whole number embarked did not exceed ninety men* This indeed appears to be the more probable number embarked, for the *Journal* tells us that thirty-nine were left behind at *Isabella* after the wreck of the *Santa Maria*, a measure absolutely necessary when it is considered that the two remaining vessels had their own crews, besides some of the natives, to bring home, and

* The complements of the three were only ninety men.

could not have conveniently carried these people. This would leave about twenty-five men for each of the other vessels, or perhaps as the *Pinta* seems to have been larger than the *Niña* she might have had the larger number of the remaining fifty-one. This number is even less than that assigned by the Baron Bonnefoux, who considers that one hundred and twenty men were embarked. M. Steinitz, who probably speaks from Herrera, appears to be the most reasonable in this particular.

But there is another circumstance which throws light on the subject in regard to the size of the *Pinta*. The vessel of Donna Beatriz that Columbus was desirous of substituting for the *Pinta* was one of forty tons only, and therefore it may be inferred that the *Pinta* was about the same size, or she may have been fifty tons. So that there is good reason for concluding that the *Santa Maria* was a vessel under a hundred tons, carrying about fifty men; the *Pinta* about fifty tons with twenty-five men; and the *Niña* about forty tons with twenty men.

The foregoing authorities are in some degree satisfactory and remove much of the difficulty of forming a tolerable idea of the three vessels of Columbus, and will coincide with the explanation of the word *caravelle* given by M. Steinitz that "they were all three good sailers, but rather smaller than the *caravellas* of the sixteenth century, as a small square-sterned Portuguese vessel navigated with lateen sails and esteemed very expeditious."

Note VII.—Page 67.

On the easy manner in which the conquest of Gomera was effected, Captain Glas states that John de Betancour "took with him all his men that could be spared from Lancerota and Furtaventura, and sailed to the Island of Gomera; where he landed at the principal port without opposition, which surprised him greatly. * * Soon after, he perceived the natives approaching towards him in a fearless manner without any sign of hostility * * when some of them accosted the Europeans in the Spanish tongue." The result was that "During his stay in Gomera the Europeans and natives lived together in the utmost harmony, insomuch that these gave a cordial invitation to the new comers to take up their residence among them." John de Betancour, however, went to France to settle affairs with the view of returning, but died before he could get back. It is related that a Spanish vessel had been wrecked on

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the island some thirty years before, thus accounting for his finding the Spanish language common among the natives.

Note VIII.—Page 65.

The Gulf of Mules appears to be an extraordinary title to give to the sea between the Straits and the Canary Islands, but we find it in old atlases. Golfo de las Yeguas; id est sinus equorum; a demersis in ibi equabus, ut refert Fernandus Oviedus, is found in the *Theatre de l'Univers*, &c., par Abraham Ortelius. The Gulf of Mules; that is from these animals being thrown into it as related by Ferdinand Oviedo, in the passage between the islands and Spain. It is stated that more mules were produced in Gomera than in any of the other islands.

Note IX.—Page 71.

See former note containing the discussion of M. Jal on this subject.

Note X.—Page 76.

Variation of the Compass. Señor Navarrete, the zealous advocate of Columbus, has claimed for him the honour of having first discovered the variation of the compass. He says, "El ingenioso Colon, que fue el primer observador de la variacion."—Nav. p. 9. But Navarrete should have limited himself to giving him the merit of discovering the *change* of variation (as observed in the elaborate treatise on the subject in the *Encyclopedia Metropolitana*) which was no doubt one of the results of this first voyage. Even this has been very naturally questioned on the ground of the extent of navigation between the Atlantic Ocean and the whole length of the Mediterranean Sea, which must have allowed of a considerable range of variation. At present it amounts to degrees, although this change does not seem to have been referred to before. Possibly it may have arisen from the variation having been everywhere *easterly*; but Columbus having crossed the line of no variation and found it more than a point *westerly* when he was on a meridian a hundred leagues West of the Azores it could not but excite his attention to the subject, as well as that of the pilots with him, and gave

rise to his observation of the motion of the pole star. See also Note XXI.

In laying down the track of Columbus from the Crooked Island Group, named in the chart the *Fragrant Isles*, from the Journal of the Admiral, it became evident from his courses and distances run as far as Cuba, that it was necessary to allow a considerable amount of variation. In his first voyage he mentioned in his Journal that he found above a point of Westerly variation on a meridian a hundred leagues West of the Azores, and in his third voyage, when he is on the coast of Paria, he also mentions having found, to the surprise of the pilots, above a point and a half. And now that his courses and distances run to an anchorage on the bank specified as being at the distance of five leagues (see his Journal, p. 319) from the Arenas Isles, and from thence to Cuba it may be safely said that the variation which he found there in 1492 amounted to little short of two points *Westerly*. The Admiral names the point on the coast of Paria, off which, on the 18th of August, 1498, the variation was observed, Point Aguja, (now Point Alcatrazes,) and Baron Humboldt, remembering that the Portuguese had named Cape Agulhas (near the Cape of Good Hope) as the point off which there was also no variation of the compass, was inclined to attribute the same reason to Columbus having named his Cape Aguja on the coast of Paria. But the case was totally different. The great amount of variation, above a point and a half, excited the astonishment of the pilots as well as himself. "Le changement (variation) leur causa de l'étonnement," (p. 45, *Examen Crit.*, tome troisième.) Now this, which is confirmed not only by the variation obtained from the track of Columbus after his Landfall, but by that of a point and a half a hundred leagues to the West of the Azores, would go far to assist in determining the line of no variation;—not as passing North-East and South-West from the Azores between Isla Marguerita and Cape Codera, as the Baron states it to have been, (page 46,) but much further to the Eastward; for how could the line of no variation be found within about three degrees of longitude from where it is known there was at the time above a point and a half? There are several old observations in Hackluyt, about the middle of the sixteenth century, from which, if reduced back to the time of Columbus, probably the line might be determined. Both time and opportunity of reference have failed the Author of the Landfall to arrive at the exact time and by whom Cape Agulhas was named; but from a passage in Dampier it appears, about 1600, to have afforded the means to ships of knowing when they had passed the

Cape by the crossing the line of no variation and changing this from Easterly to Westerly.

But the line of no variation could not have passed over Cape Agulhas when Diaz discovered it. Whence then has this *Cabo das Agulhas* derived its name, and which of the old Portuguese navigators bestowed it? There are two answers to the first question; but time has failed the Author of these lines to find one for the second. Thus, although Barros, the Portuguese historian, and several other authors, are silent on the subject, Baron Humboldt and also Horsburgh say, that it was from the magnetic needle having no variation off it when so named by the Portuguese; but neither of these authors gives *his* authorities.

Now when Bartholomew Diaz passed beyond Vasco da Gama, near the end of the fifteenth century, the line of no variation could not have been over Cabo das Agulhas; there must then have been at least a point of Easterly variation, and this view is confirmed by Captain James Stanier Clarke, who, in his "Progress of Maritime Discovery," makes the following important remark on the subject.

"In this respect DIAZ must have been deceived. The line of no variation was placed by Halley to the Westward of the cape. Refer to Dr. Halley's *Theory of the Variation of the Magnetic Compass*, (*Miscellanea Curiosa*, vol. i. pp. 27 and 43.) According to a table there inserted, the variation at *Cape Agulhas*, in 1622, was 2° 0' West."—"Progress of Maritime Discovery," p. 387, vol. i., 4to. Referring then to Halley's "*Miscellanea Curiosa*," he says, "At *Cape d'Agulhas*, the most Southerly promontory of *Africa*, about this year, 1600, the needle pointed due North and South, without variation, whence the Portuguese gave its name."

This statement of there being no variation at *Cabo das Agulhas* about the year 1600, is confirmed by authorities to be found in Purchas. Thus, Captain John Davis, with the ships the *Lion* and *Lioness*, on the 6th of December, 1598, doubled Cape das Agulhas, "where the compasse hath no variation," vol. i., p. 118; and in 1609, Captain Keeling, in a return voyage from the East Indies, passing within seven leagues of Cabo das Agulhas, on the 22nd of December, says, "I observed the sunne's setting and found small variation," vol. i., p. 204, Purchas. And again, Captain Puyton, in 1614, says on this subject, "It is an infallible rule that from the Cape of Good Hope to Java the variation increaseth to the West the further East we remove," p. 525, Purchas. But still this does not confirm the statement of the Portuguese finding it so a century before; for, as it is now 29½° Westerly there, it is not

likely it would be stationary a whole century previous to 1600, and Halley does not throw light on this part of the subject.

The circumstance, however, of the change of variation from East to West exactly off the pitch of the Cape for ships running East or West in days when they found their longitude as well as they could without the present appliances for that purpose, afforded a capital means for knowing when they had passed it, by carefully observing the variation; and hence old Dampier tells us, that besides *making use of the lead* on the bank off the cape they resorted to this method. Thus he says, "But the greatest dependance of our *English* seamen now is upon their observing the variation of the compass, which is very carefully minded when they come near the cape, by taking the sun's amplitude mornings and evenings. This they are so exact in, that by the help of the azimuth compass, an instrument more peculiar to the seamen of our nation, they know when they are abreast of the cape, or are either to the East or the West of it. And for that reason, though they should be to Southward of all the soundings, or fathomable ground, they can shape their course right without being obliged to make the land. But the *Dutch*, on the contrary, having settled themselves on this promontory, do always touch here in their *East India* voyages, both going and coming." —Dampier, vol. i., p. 531. This, however, does not settle the question as to the origin of the name of *Cabo das Agulhas*;—but the following extract from an old work, used by the seamen of former days, is more to the purpose.

In Seller's Sea Atlas of 1675, (p. 6,) we read that, "The cape consisteth of three points or headlands, whereof that which is nearest is called as before (Cape of Good Hope); the middlemost *Cabo Falso*, because mistaken for the other by some of the *Portugals* in their return homewards; the other the *Cape of Needles*, or *Cape das Agulhas*, by reason of the sharp points it shoots out into the sea "

Here then, erroneous as it may be, is some authority for the recollections of our school time in respect of the origin of the Cape of Needles: whether it is right or wrong time does not permit of investigating now. But this has perhaps been already done by some inquiring person, who may not only have satisfactorily answered the question, but given date, name, and the occasion of it; and it is therefore reserved among other maritime curiosities for future investigation, when it may be found that the compass has had something to do with it.

And as information on the progress of the variation is always of

useful reference, the following table of the variation in our metropolis is added from Dr. Halley, Sir David Brewster, and a table in Hopkins's "Connection of Geology and Magnetism."

Year.	Variation.	Year.	Variation.	Year.	Variation.
1576 ...	11° 15' E.	1672 ...	2° 30' W.	1800 ...	24° 36' W.
1580 ...	11 17 „	1700 ...	9 40 „	1806 ...	24 8 „
1622 ...	6 0 „	1720 ...	13 0 „	1813 ...	24 20 „
1634 ...	4 5 „	1740 ...	16 10 „	1815 ...	27 27 „
1657 ...	none	1760 ...	19 30 „	1816 ...	27 17 „
1662 ...	none	1774 ...	22 20 „	1820 ...	24 11 „
1666 ...	0 34 W.	1778 ...	22 11 „	1823 ...	24 9 „
1670 ...	2 6 „	1790 ...	23 39 „	1831 ...	24 0 „

The following table of the mean annual variation of the magnetic needle at the Royal Observatory at Greenwich, is deduced from a series of results for each month of the years between October, 1841, and December, 1855, inclusive, communicated by the Astronomer Royal, G. B. Airy, Esq., to the "Nautical Magazine."

Year.	Variation.	Year.	Variation.
1841	23° 13' 10"	1849	22° 36' 29"
1842	23 14 33	1850	22 23 47
1843	23 11 42	1851	22 18 7
1844	23 15 18	1852	22 17 33
1845	22 0 53	1853	22 9 38
1846	22 49 33	1854	21 0 24
1847	22 51 3	1855	21 48 2
1848	22 52 7		

The very superior means possessed by the Royal Observatory of ascertaining the amount of this mysterious phenomenon occasioned by the physical construction of our planet along with the influence of the sun, it is to be hoped will be preserved through all ages, whereby hereafter an amount of results will be obtained that will be most essential to the future inquirer.

The Magnetic Observatory which possesses these means forms a very important branch of the Royal Observatory. It is a separate building, constructed entirely with the view of making observations in magnetism and meteorology, at the suggestion of the present Astronomer Royal. These observations are registered by means of photography, so that an unbroken series of both kinds are obtained by the aid of a lamp and prepared paper at less trouble and cost than when with a large staff of attendants observations were made at five minutes intervals.

The following table shows the mean monthly variation of the magnetic needle for the years specified, from which the foregoing results have been deduced.

Month.	1841.	1842.	1843.	1844.	1845.
	° ' "	° ' "	° ' "	° ' "	° ' "
Jan. ...	23 11 54	23 11 51	23 19 22	22 58 6	
Feb. ...	23 15 23	23 9 56	23 18 43	22 57 20	
March ..	23 10 39	23 7 17	23 18 42	22 57 6	
April ...	23 11 0	23 4 48	23 18 42	22 59 14	
May ...	23 11 39	23 6 10	23 19 23	22 57 28	
June ...	23 14 5	23 12 31	23 19 8	23 1 10	
July ...	23 17 14	23 11 18	23 18 40	22 57 24	
August..	23 15 10	23 11 21	23 13 25	22 58 11	
Sept. ...		23 16 31	23 13 6	22 56 7	
October.	23 12 18	23 18 4	23 16 12	23 12 52	22 53 21
Nov. ...	23 17 7	23 17 22	23 15 50	23 11 50	22 52 53
Dec. ...	23 11 5	23 17 22	23 17 3	22 59 41	22 52 18
Mean	23 13 10	23 14 33	23 11 42	23 15 18	23 0 53

Month.	1846.	1847.	1848.	1849.	1850.
	° ' "	° ' "	° ' "	° ' "	° ' "
Jan. ...	22 50 56	22 48 18	22 50 2	22 33 56	22 28 5
Feb. ...	22 50 17	22 45 48	22 49 55	22 42 21	22 27 28
March ..	22 49 21	22 47 35	22 53 46	22 42 58	22 26 54
April ...	22 51 51	22 47 28	22 52 27	22 42 25	22 25 44
May ...	22 49 32	22 46 15	22 52 46	22 41 27	22 25 1
June ...	22 51 48	22 43 0	22 53 21	22 40 41	22 24 47
July ...	22 49 24	22 49 33	22 53 18	22 41 12	22 23 41
August..	22 49 33	22 56 22	22 52 36	22 37 31	22 22 4
Sept. ...	22 48 55	23 1 17	22 51 31	22 26 54	22 25 43
October.	22 47 55	22 58 45	22 52 11	22 28 54	22 19 1
Nov. ...	22 47 38	22 55 26	22 51 46	22 30 34	22 18 27
Dec. ...	22 47 51	22 56 48	22 51 40	22 28 50	22 18 27
Mean	22 49 33	22 51 3	22 52 7	22 36 29	22 23 47

Month.	1851.	1852.	1853.	1854.	1855.
	o i "	o i "	o i "	o i "	o i "
Jan. ...	22 20 18	22 22 13	22 11 55	22 3 42	21 49 50
Feb. ...	22 19 27	22 21 15	22 12 3	22 2 8	21 48 13
March ...	22 19 22	22 20 35	22 10 51	22 2 28	21 48 51
April ...	22 19 21	22 21 49	22 11 35	22 2 4	21 48 47
May ...	22 18 26	22 20 24	22 10 7	22 2 18	21 48 25
June ...	22 14 0	22 18 3	22 9 26	22 1 2	21 50 12
July ...	22 16 47	22 19 5	22 10 21	22 0 23	21 48 14
August..	22 17 11	22 17 36	22 9 34	22 0 20	21 48 31
Sept. ...	22 15 10	22 14 5	22 12 16	21 59 2	21 47 9
October.	22 17 16	22 13 5	22 7 36	21 57 33	21 46 21
Nov. ...	22 20 35	22 11 24	22 4 22	21 57 53	21 45 59
Dec. ...	22 19 32	22 11 9	22 5 26	21 56 3	21 45 54
Mean	22 18 7	22 17 33	22 9 38	22 0 24	21 48 2

Since the foregoing was concluded, having met with an old work, entitled Linschoten's "Discours of Voyages unto ye Easte and West Indies, imprinted by John Wolfe, 1598," in London, some further light is thrown by it on the foregoing question of Cape Agulhas.

In the third book, entitled "The Nauigation of the Portingales into the East Indies," the following appears in the second chapter, on "The Course or Viage to East India, made and set downe by the Kings Pilot, called Diego Affonso, a Portingall."

"Also by this Cape the needle of the compasse is right and even: so that when it is noone by the astrolobie it is likewise noone by the sunne diall, or the compasse both agreeing in one, which is a good signe that you are North and South with the Cape das Agulhas, or betweene both, that is, the Cape de Bona Speranza, and the Cape das Agulhas, and this is a great signe, as well from Portingalle into India, as from India to Portingall:" John Huighen Van Linschoten, p. 310.

From this it would seem that Cabo das Agulhas was neither named by Diaz nor Vasco da Gama, but obtained its name from the Portuguese *pilots*, who, in their frequent voyages round the Cape to India, found, about the end of the sixteenth century, that the needle had no variation off that cape, and thence gave it the name of Cabo das Agulhas, so that by the change of the variation from

Easterly to Westerly they knew when they had passed this cape on their outward voyages.

Note XI.—Page 72.

The object of Senhor Macedo's work (No. 5 on the list of books) is to show that the Portuguese knew the Canary Islands before the Arabs. It is one of considerable research, as such a subject would require, and forms part of a history of the voyages and discoveries of the Portuguese. Barros, the Portuguese historian, however, assigns their discovery to the Frenchman, John de Betancourt.

Note XI. a.—Remarks, page 85.

A very neat little hand-book of Illustrated Natural History, well adapted to the young cadet, has recently been published by Routledge and Co., the production of the Rev. J. G. Wood. The habits of the various specimens are described briefly, including those of the sea-birds, and in a manner well suited to the arrangement in so small a compass. It is just the kind of book with which he should be supplied, satisfying his inquiries concerning the different specimens which he will meet with in the course of his duties, thus affording him the amount of information becoming to an officer, and at the same time encouraging a taste for rational and interesting pursuits.

Note XII.—Page 89.

The portions of the Journal of Columbus among the islands (by which it must be understood that we mean the series of letters written by him and contained in Navarrete's first volume), referring to their general character, as well as that of the natives and his proceedings among them, have been translated by the author and so arranged that while the narrative of the Admiral's discoveries are thus given in his own words, which will be immediately recognized in the Spanish, they are underlain with a commentary by the author to show where Columbus is upon the chart. Thus all difficulty in tracing the Admiral is removed as he will be scrupulously followed from his Landfall to Cuba.

Note XIII.—Page 92.

The term may appear to be authoritative, but is justified by the conclusive and extensive reasoning applied by the learned Baron in his work (No. 2 of our list) "Examen Critique." Alluding to the doubts about the Landfall, he says, "Mais ces mêmes doutes ont un intérêt de géographie historique trop général pour ne pas les examiner consciencieusement ici. Ce devoir est d'autant plus impérieuse, que l'hypothèse de M. Navarrete qui identifie l'île de Guanahani avec une des Iles Turques, au Nord de Saint-Domingue a été accueillie avec beaucoup de précipitation."—Tome Troisième, p. 167, l. 10–16. Thus disposing of the laborious discussions of Navarrete, the Baron confirms the reasoning of the American Lieutenant who decides on Cat Island for Washington Irving step by step, and, alluding to Columbus having really entered the shallow opening of the Caravelas Grandes, says, "C'est le résultat qu'a obtenu l'officier de la marine des Etats-Unis dont M. Washington Irving nous a conservé les judicieuses discussions."—p. 203, l. 25, 26, p. 204, l. 1, 2. And having moreover used the Admiralty chart of M. De Mayne and the old sketch already mentioned of the pilot De la Cosa, he concludes by saying, "Il était indispensable de fixer ce point récemment contesté."—p. 223, l. 24, 25. Such passages as the foregoing, confirmed by the last, may be fairly considered to amount to a decision on the part of the Baron, but unfortunately "avec beaucoup de précipitation," and not "detenidamente," like Navarrete.

Note XIV.—Page 93.

Captain Glas gives the following on the name of Hierro or Ferro. "The name of this island, before the arrival of John de Betancourt, was Esero, which signifies, in the language of its ancient inhabitants, strong. When the Spaniards showed them iron, they found it exceeding everything in strength, therefore they called it Esero; and afterwards, when they began to speak the Castilian language, they called iron indifferently by the name of Esero or Hierro, which last is the Spanish word for that metal; so that they at last translated the real name of the island Esero into the Spanish one Hierro, which it retains to this day. But the Portuguese and others, following their own dialect, call it Ferro, and some will have it that

the natives call it Fer; though there is no proof of this assertion," p. 35, 36, vol. i. Hierro then appears to be its legitimate name.

Note XV.—Page 93.

"Precipitacion" is hardly a fair term to apply to one who has taken the pains which Navarrete has done in bringing to light the whole progress of Columbus in his discoveries, and has taken the trouble to lay down the whole of the tracks of that celebrated navigator, besides printing all his papers. Indeed such a task required for its performance all the patience which a man could rationally be supposed to possess. And had Señor Navarrete lived to see the Landfall really developed as it now is, he would have had the satisfaction of knowing that to his care and pains in printing those papers the Author is entirely indebted for the ultimate success of his labours.

Note XVI.—Page 93.

"Detenidamente," (most leisurely, or scrupulously,) says Señor Navarrete, examining this diary, his courses and reckonings, &c., it appears that the first island which Columbus discovered and landed on, naming it San Salvador, was the Northernmost of the Turks Island Group, that called the *Grand Turk*, note 4, p. 20, Nav. So that Navarrete was deliberately and not hastily deceiving himself. There were features in this island which certainly correspond with Watling Island better than with San Salvador: the one a flat island with a large lake in it, the other high with none. But Columbus was difficult to be understood even with a good chart, which neither Navarrete nor Washington Irving possessed; and Navarrete complains bitterly of the unintelligible and "contradictory" nature of his descriptions, which puzzled the most deliberate consideration which he gave them.

Note XVII.—Page 95.

The quotation is from p. 240, vol. iv., of Washington Irving's "Life of Columbus."

Note XVIII.—Page 95.

The original passage is as follows:—"Esta isla es bien grande y muy llana y de árboles muy verdes, y muchas aguas, y una laguna en medio muy grande, sin ninguna montaña, y toda ella verde, ques placer de mirarla;" Nav. vol. i., p. 23, l. 17-20. Now this might be rendered:—"This island is pretty large, very level, has very healthy trees, much water, and a very large lake in the midst of it, and all so verdant that it is a pleasure to see it." But in respect of the term *very* large, Navarrete has pointed out where Columbus speaks of San Salvador merely as an islet after his acquaintance with the rest of the islands which he discovered. Thus he says in his discussion from which he adopted Turks Island, in quoting the Admiral: "Retiriéndose á ella en el día 5 de Enero de 1493, la vuelve á llamar tambien *isleta*, ó isla pequeña." Nav. vol. i., p. cv. Intro. l. 32-4. The allusion to San Salvador here by the Admiral occurred in consequence of finding some coloured stones similar to those found on the islet of San Salvador. "Como los que halló en la isleta de San Salvador." Nav. vol. i., p. 125, l. 9. This passage is also particularly referred to by Mr. George Gibbs, of Turks Island, who read a paper before the Historical Society of New York, see Appendix to their Proceedings for that year, p. 137, on the 6th of October, 1846, in which he brings forward many plausible reasons in support of Navarrete's opinion, among which are monuments of coloured stones, found in Turks Island, the stones also being similar to those on the islet off St. Domingo mentioned by Columbus. Mr. Gibbs evinces considerable ingenuity, and sets forth some good clear reasoning in his paper, showing why Turks *Island* has more pretension to the name of San Salvador than Cat Island, and which it certainly has. But he took for granted that Navarrete was right in the track which he assigned to Columbus when he left it, which, as he will perceive by the chart, is very different from that which has been laid down by the Author of the Landfall. The very ingenious reasoning of Mr. Gibbs was well worthy of a better cause.

The following description of Watling Island, the *Guanahani* of Columbus, is given by Captain Richard Owen, R.N., to whom we are also indebted for the plan of the island on the chart. The view of it is from a sketch by the late Mr. Anthony de Mayne, long employed surveying in the West Indies. Capt. Owen says, "*Watling Island*, situated at the North-East of Rum Cay, is twelve miles in length, from North to South, and about six miles wide. The inte-

rior of the island is more than half eaten out with lakes and ponds, all of salt water. It is considered, for its size, as the most fertile island for raising in the Bahamas. There is not any salt made on the island, owing, I believe, to the want of an anchorage for ships; only very small vessels can find shelter.

"The centre and East of this island is very hilly; the highest hill is near the centre; it is about 140 feet high. Off the South-East point a spit of bank runs out to the South-Eastward for two and a half miles, with from six to fifteen fathoms dark bottom. On the inner part of this bank, about a mile from the South-East point, are the *Hinchinbrook Rocks*, which are high and conspicuous.

"A reef bounds the Eastern side about one third of a mile outside of it; the reef runs out in a spit to the Northward of the island, for upwards of three miles; there are several small cays upon it; the most northern is called "White Cay;" it is about three fourths of a mile from the extreme North-West point of the reef. The deep water soundings reach a mile and a half to the Northward of the spit of the reef.

"There is a cay upon the reef about a mile to the Northward of the North-West point of the island, called "*Green Cay*," round the South end of which is a channel, with seven feet, for small craft, to an anchorage inside the reef, which is well sheltered.

"Along the West side of the island the soundings do not reach more than half a mile from the shore; in many points it is very foul near the edge. The South-West point is steep to, and sandy. On the south side is a confined anchorage for small craft behind a reef in a small bay, just under some houses on a rising ground about two miles from the South-West point."

Such is the statement of Captain Owen concerning Watling Island, accounting for the *muchas aguas* mentioned by Columbus; but neither the island nor its approaches on either side have yet undergone the scrutinious survey applied to some others of the West India Islands.

The description does not allude to the coral reef which surrounds the island, nor to the bank off the North-East part, which must have afforded a temporary anchorage for the little vessels of Columbus while the ceremonies of taking possession were going forward on shore.

Watling Island most probably obtained its name from the buccaneers or freebooters, as they were called, for it appears in a brief history of the doings of these people that a Captain George Watling is mentioned as being an old privateer when he is chosen for

the command of one of their ships. He goes into the Pacific in that command. This term Freebooter affords an amusing instance of the invention of words, as it is now in common use among our friends of the United States with a Spanish parentage, and called Filibustier. Thus we hear of filibustering expeditions much of the same nature as those of the freebooters of old. But the term is really our own in a Spanish dress. Filibustier is the nearest pronunciation of the Spaniards to Freebooter, and is thus defined in the dictionary. Thus we just learn that Costa Rica has declared war against the "Filibustiers."

It is to be hoped that Watling Island, celebrated as it is for being the real San Salvador of Columbus, the first American ground on which the great Admiral landed, will in due time be surveyed in a manner to which it is entitled.

Note XIX.—Page 96.

Captain Richard Owen tells us, in the Nautical Memoir of his Surveys, that the lakes and ponds of Watling Island are all composed of salt water, but says nothing of any source of fresh water on the whole island. The little, therefore, with which the natives could supply Columbus, must have been saved in calabashes from the rain, which was frequent at the time he was there. We are informed by Captain Barnett, who was with Mr. De Mayne, that no tanks but small wells were to be found on the island, whatever there might have been in the time of Columbus.

Note XX.—Page 97.

Vol. iv., p. 246. To this is added,—“The vessels had probably drifted into this bay, at the South-East side of San Salvador, on the morning of the 12th, while lying to for daylight.” This is a conclusion as infelicitous as the former, for if the vessels had been drifted when in any position between Watling and Cat Islands, it must have been to the Northward.

Note XXI.—Page 97.

The variation then was nearly two points Westerly. See note X.

Note XXII.—Page 100.

Dando gracias a Dios, literally, giving thanks to the Almighty, which stands better in the text without translation, for what could these simple natives know about this. No doubt the natives are anxious for their visitors to be more among them; but to conclude they were giving thanks to the Almighty, must be supposititious, and be taken as a mere façon de parler, a kind of figure of speech.

Note XXIII.—Page 101.

The Baron's words are,—“ Ces doutes ont un intérêt de géographie historique trop général pour ne pas les examiner consciencieusement ici. Ce devoir est d'autant plus impérieuse, que l'hypothèse de M. Navarrete qui identifie l'île de Guanahani avec une des îles Turques, au nord de Saint Domingue, a été accueillie avec beaucoup de précipitation; et qu'un document entièrement inconnu, la *Mapemonde de Juan de la Cosa*, de l'année 1500, dont nous avons decouvert la grande importance, M. Valckenaer et moi, in 1832, donne un nouveau poids aux objections consignées dans la Vie de Christophe Colomb, par M. Washington Irving. On peut dire qu'aussi loin que s'étend la civilisation européenne, les plus doux souvenirs de l'enfance se rattachent aux impressions qu'a produites la première lecture de la découverte de Guanahani. Ces lumières mouvantes que l'amiral montra à Pedro Gutierrez dans l'obscurité de la nuit, cette plage de sables éclairée par la lune vue par Juan Rodriguez Bermejo, ont frappé notre imagination. On a conservé minutieusement les nom et prénoms des marins qui ont prétendu avoir reconnu les premiers une portion d'un monde nouveaux, et nous serions réduits à ne pouvoir lier ces souvenirs à une localité déterminée, à regarder comme vague et incertain le lieu de la scène ?

“ Je me trouve hereusement en état de détruire ces incertitudes par un document géographique aussi ancien qu'inconnu, document qui confirme irrévocablement le résultat des argumens que M. Washington Irving a consigné dans son ouvrage contre l'hypothèse des Îles Turques. Un marin américain très expérimenté, connaissant par autopsie les localités de Cat Island et de l'îlot de la Grande-Saline, a déjà prouvé combien l'aspect du dernier et sa position relative correspondent peu à la description que Christophe Colomb a faite de

Guanahani ou de San Salvador." Examen Critique, tome troiseime, p. 167—9.

Note XXIV.—Page 106.

As I am now doing. The passage is quoted in the Summary at p. 314. It is brief and decisive, and runs thus :—" Por ende yo miré por la mas grande, y aquella determiné andar, *y asi hago.*"—Nav. p. 25, l. 12, 13.

Note XXV.—Page 110.

It has been said by Mr. Washington Irving, that Columbus, when near Concepcion "sees another island to the Westward, the largest he had yet seen ; but he tells us that he anchored off Concepcion, and did not stand for this larger island, because he could not have sailed to the West. Hence it is rendered certain that Columbus did not sail Westward in going from San Salvador to Concepcion ; for, from the opposition of the wind, as there could be no other cause, he could not sail towards that quarter."—W. Irving, vol. iv., p. 248, l. 12 to 20. There must have been some misconception here, arising perhaps from bad charts, which certainly were used by Mr. Washington Irving. But that Columbus did sail to the Westward is evident, from his own authority ; as he tells us, he went to the South-West from Guanahani to an island which he did not reach until the following day, and at which he did not stop because he saw another island to the Westward, for which he made sail, and arrived at an anchorage off it by sunset. The following are the words of the Admiral :—" Y como desta isla vide otra mayor al *Oueste*, cargué las velas por andar todo aquel dia fasta la noche, porque aun no pudiera haber andado al cabo del *Oueste*, á la cual puse nombre *la isla de Santa Maria de Concepcion*, y cuasi al poner del sol surgi acerca del dicho cabo por saber si habia alli oro." Nav. p. 25, l. 28, to p. 26, l. 3. Thus, from whatever quarter the wind may have been in this run, it has not prevented his going *West*,—it was most probably, however, from the South-East, for in leaving this same anchorage on the following day, the Admiral hastens away to avail himself of it. Thus he says respecting it :—" Y porque el viento cargaba á la traviesa Sueste no me quise detener."—Nav. p. 26, l. 13, 14. And then he stands over to the next island, which he names Fernandina.

Note XXVI.—Page 110.

Rum Cay is the name of the small island first steered for by Columbus after leaving Guanahani, and on which he not only did not consider it worth while to land, but even not to bestow a name. Certainly in comparison with Long Island (Concepcion) it would appear insignificant, besides being beset with rocks, which would have given the Admiral trouble, although he might have found water there. The little rocky cay to the Northward, called Conception, was fatal to H.M.S. Southampton, in 1812, and Rum Cay is said to have derived its name from the rum casks of a West Indian wrecked on it in former days.

Note XXVII.—Page 111.

Marea. The expression of the Admiral is, *la marea me detuvo*, the set of the current detained me. The same is recognized by seamen now, and it is generally pretty well known by them that there is a Northerly set between these islands.

Note XXVIII.—Page 113.

Borrowed to the South. The Spanish expression is, *tocaba de Sur*, p. 27, l. 17, whether it alludes to the wind being Southerly of South-East, or that Columbus borrowed to the South to look down the coast, being desirous of going to South-West, seems uncertain in the original, which will apply both ways. The latter was at once adopted here, although possibly the former is most correct. But it is of very little consequence.

Note XXIX.—Page 113.

Columbus crowds all sail on his vessel. This was to reach the North cape of Long Island, which he names Cape Santa Maria. The expression is, “Cargué las velas por andar todo aquel día, porque aun no pudiera haber andado al Cabo del Oeste.”

Note XXX.—Page 113.

Santa Maria de la Concepcion: The Admiral named the island as soon as he saw it from abreast of Rum Cay, where, he says, alluding to it, *á la cual puse nombre de la isla Santa Maria de la Concepcion*, p. 26, l. 1, and anchored off it about sunset of Monday the 15th of October.

Note XXXI.—Page 114.

The distance is scarcely so much as the Admiral gives it, but Fernandina lying in an oblique direction, the different parts of the island would be some more and some less,—increasing northerly.

Note XXXII.—Page 116.

This is literally the expression of the Admiral, who is referring to gold, and alludes to finding it,—“*con el ayuda de nuestro Señor.*”

Note XXXIII.—Page 116.

The nearest part of Rum Cay to Guanahani, is about twenty miles, corresponding very well with the Admiral's amended estimation.

Note XXXIV.—Page 117.

It has been already shown that Washington Irving takes the Admiral by a South-East course from Guanahani to Concepcion, and it has been also shown by the Admiral's words, that he went to the South-West from Guanahani towards Concepcion, passing Rum Cay, which Concepcion is the name proposed for Long Island, the Concepcion of the chart not having been noticed by the Admiral.

Note XXXV.—Page 117.

The expression is, “*Determiné de aguardar fasta mañana en la*

tarde, y despues partir para el Sudueste," Nav. p. 23, l. 12. I determined to wait until to-morrow evening and then to depart for the South-West.

Note XXXVI.—Page 119.

That they may give to us of what they have,—y nos den de todo lo que hobiere, p. 28, l. 24. Navarrete complains that Columbus is frequently not particular in his grammar,—but time and dirt will obliterate the best writing.

Note XXXVII.—Page 126.

It is somewhat remarkable that Columbus should have alighted on the only cultivated island of the group, one, as the Author is informed by Captain Barnett, R.N., that has been long known by the name of the Garden of the Bahamas. This seems to have been the real cause of the mistaken notions which were so much encouraged by his florid description of the island.

Note XXXVIII.—Page 128.

The expression of Columbus is,—“A medio dia parti de la poblacion adonde yo estaba surgido, y adonde tomé agua para ir rodear esta isla Fernandina,” Nav. p. 30, l. 26.

Note XXXIX.—Page 128.

W. Irving, vol. iv., p. 248, l. 16—20.

Note XL.—Page 128.

See note xxxiv.

Note XLI.—Page 129.

See note xxx. “y cuasi al poner del sol surgi acerca del dicho Cabo,” Nav. p. 26, l. 1, 2. Nearly at sunset I anchored off the said Cape.

Note XLII.—Page 130.

See W. Irving, "but the wind being South-East by South" the course he wished to steer, vol. iv. p. 249, l. 10. "y el viento era Sudueste y Sur," Nav. p. 30, l. 28. And the wind was South-West by South.

Note XLIII.—Page 130.

Washington Irving says,—“He therefore bore up to the North-West, and having run two leagues, found a marvellous port, with a narrow entrance, or rather with two entrances, for there was an island which shut it in completely, forming a noble basin within. Sailing out of this harbour by the opposite entrance at the North-West, he discovered that part of the island which runs East and West,” vol. iv., p. 249, l. 13—21. The Admiral’s words,—“Dí la vela al Nornorueste, y cuando fue acerca del cabo de la isla, á dos leguas, hallé un muy maravilloso puerto con una boca, aunque dos bocas se le puede decir, porque tiene un isleo en medio, y son ambos muy angostas, y dentro muy ancho para cien navios si fuera fondo y limpio, y fondo al entrada: pareciome razon del ver bien y sondear, y *asi surgi fuera dél*, y fui en él con todas las barcas de los navios, y vimos que no habia fondo,” page 31, (misprinted 13,) l. 3—10. Thus the boats went in (and had their water casks) but not the ships for want of depth of water.

Note XLIV.—Page 131.

The title of the chart is, West Indies, sheet 2, from the Providence Channels to the Windward Passage, by Commander Richard Owen, 1831–2, published by the Hydrographic Office, Admiralty. It is one of a series of the West Indies.

Note XLV.—Page 133.

The Admiral says, “Y como mi voluntad fuese de seguir esta costa desta isla adonde yo estaba al *Sueste*,” p. 30, l. 27—30.

Note XLVI.—Page 133.

The expression, as quoted in note xliii., is, *di la vela al Nornor-ueste*, p. 31, l. 3.

Notes XLVII., XLVIII.—Page 137.

Columbus having arrived at the North-West cape of the island, from whence he saw the coast which runs East and West, and by which expression he must have meant merely the extreme of the land, then says the wind fails him, and comes West-North-West, foul for where the place he had come for. The passage, which is very important, is this,—“*El viento alli luego mas calmó y comenzó á ventar Onenorueste el cual era contrario para donde habiamos venido, y asi tomé la vuelta, y navegué,*” Nav. p. 32, l. 18—20, and this part stating that he *turned back*, forms the special authority on which the track is turned round on our chart. Columbus had here reached his North-West limit, from whence he turns back, and runs all the evening and following night to the Eastward and South-Eastward to keep off the land, as the weather was bad, in fact to keep clear of the cape Santa Maria. This is probably one of the most interesting points in the progress of the ships during the whole series of these discoveries, and he adds, as we have stated, that in running along the land afterwards, he did not go on shore.

Note XLIX.—Page 140.

“*Mas no fui en tierra, y en amenciendo di la vela,*” Nav. p. 33, l. 4, 5. Having made sail at daylight.

Note L.—Page 145.

Cape Hermoso. After mature consideration, this name is given to the South-West extreme of Fortune Island, which is described as being the cape of an island separated from Samoet,—in fact, with others between them.

Note LI.—Page 146.

Cape Laguna also is assigned to the South-West end of Samoet, or Isabella, and it would appear that Columbus attempted to enter the shoal water between it and Fortune Island to visit the Southern shore of that island, but was unable to do so, and therefore goes round and attempts it from the Southward. There are no data from which to lay down the absolute tracks of Columbus in attempting to penetrate this shoal district. But fortunately they are not important to the progress of the voyage. The Admiral was foiled in his attempt, and was obliged to anchor "a long way off the land,"—as he says, "y no podia surgir salvo largo de tierra," p. 34, l. 6,—in his attempt to visit the king of these islands.

Note LII.—Page 148.

The Lagoons of these islands are well known, being all of brackish water, unfit for use, and hence we find the Admiral saying that he is in search of good water.

Note LIII.—Page 149.

The Linaloe appears to be the name of the tree that yields the mastic varnish.

Note LIV.—Page 150.

Water. The passage is,—"*Andando en busca de muy buena agua*," p. 36, l. 20. Water enough there was in the lagoons, and snakes too it would appear, but the Admiral does not fancy it, and is seeking "better:" that of the lagoons might be good, but he wanted "very good." He might have said better, and that it was unfit for use. But neither here nor at Guanahani could he do so.

Note LV.—Page 151.

This appears to be the first mention of Cuba. The Indians, whom the Admiral has captured, make signs in allusion to its position when they mention the word *Colba*, which the Admiral connects immediately with Cipango, meaning Japan.

Note LVI.—Page 151.

The Great Khan is uppermost in the mind of the Admiral, particularly as he here considers himself to be drawing near to his dominions, and he naturally alludes to the letters of the Sovereigns to him of which he is the bearer.

Note LVII.—Page 154.

Ir a camino,—literally, to be on the road, but nautically, as it is applied here, to be under sail.

Note LVIII.—Page 155.

Columbus here expresses his regret, as he frequently does afterwards, at his want of botanical as well as geological information. Baron Humboldt calls him the “unlettered” seaman, an epithet which he scarcely deserved. He might be considered as possessing a superior share of information in comparison with the navigators of the time, and certainly the ornamental accomplishments afforded by the study of natural history were not a part of the seaman’s education in those days.

Note LIX.—Page 158.

Cipango,—“porque creo * * * es la isla de *Cipango* de que se cuentan cosas maravillosas, p. 39, l. 2, 3.

Note LX.—Page 159.

The boat on the poop. The passage to which allusion is made to the boat, appears in the Summary. It would seem that so desirous was the Admiral of reaching Cuba, (his Cipango,) that having set all the sails of the ship, he hoisted that of the boat,—and this being on a high poop, would no doubt assist in giving her way through the water. M. Jal, however, is not of this opinion.

Note LXI.—Page 160.

This departure is preserved in the Summary; but the point of Fernandina, which forms Cape Verd, is so carefully expressed as to be worthy of notice. The words of Columbus are, “me quedaba el *Cabo Verde* de la isla *Fernandina*, el cual es de la parte de Sur á la parte de Oeste, me quedaba al Norueste, y hacia de mí á él siete leguas,” Nav. p. 39, l. 12—15. This is a seamanlike departure.

Note LXII.—Page 160.

Anchoring. We have here an instance of the care and circumspection of the old seamen in managing their vessels. The clearness of the water among the West India Islands admits of the bottom being seen at considerable depths. The old navigators availed themselves of this, for we repeatedly find Columbus saying, it is necessary to be careful to see where one is anchoring. Even now it is a common precaution with our small vessels of war on the West India station, to *see* that the bottom is clear before they drop their anchors.

Note LXIII.—Page 161.

See M. Jal's discussion on this subject in note vi.

Notes LXIV., LXV., LXVII.—Pages 162, 163, 164.

Islas de Arena. The Admiral says,—“eran siete a ocho islas, en luengo todas de Norte a Sur,” Nav. p. 39, l. 32; and he adds afterwards why he named them Arenas, by saying, “por el poco fondo que tenian de la parte del Sur hasta seis leguas,” p. 40, l. 12, 13. San Domingo Cay, which terminates the bank South of the Arenas, is about nine leagues from those islands, and as the Admiral anchored five leagues from them to the Eastward, he might not have seen it, but passed off the bank after having run something near that distance on his way to Cuba.

Note LXVI.—Page 163.

“Dijeron los Indios que llevaba que habia dellas á *Cuba* andadura de dia y medio con sus almadias,” Nav. p. 40, l. 8.

Note LXVII.—Page 164.

Distant five leagues. Navarrete, p. 39, l. 33, “Distaban cinco leguas.”

Note LXVIII.—Page 164.

The land of Cuba is tolerably high, and sufficiently so to be seen well at far greater distances than the Admiral was then from it.

Note LXIX.—Page 164.

If any further proof were required to show that Columbus had entered the harbour of Nipe, in Cuba, which, as Navarrete says, agrees well with his description, it might be found in the very singular fact that there is no other harbour on the coast that has the depth of twelve fathoms in its entrance, and this depth is fortunately specified by the Admiral when he says, “tenia la boca del rio doce brazas,” Nav. p. 40, l. 25.

Note LXX.—Page 165.

This is the observation of the Admiral,—“Aves muchas y pajaritos que cantaban muy dulcemente,” Nav. p. 41, l. 1.

Note LXXI.—Page 169.

See Washington Irving's *Life of Columbus*, vol. iv., p. 252, l. 17—19.

Note LXXII.—Page 169.

See Washington Irving's *Life of Columbus*, vol. iv., p. 253, l. 3, to p. 254, l. 3, which would be thus:—

Cape Verde North-West	7 leagues.
Drift lying to	2 „
Distance run West-South-West ..	5 „
Ditto „ West.....	11 „
Arenas distant	5 „
	—
	30
	—

Note LXXIII.—Page 169.

Idem, p. 247, l. 19, misquoted, but standing South-East by North-West direction: no doubt a misprint.

Note LXXIV.—Page 171.

See note lxiv. A survey of the part of the Old Bahama Channel, including the Mucarras and the opposite shore of Cuba, has recently been completed by Mr. F. Parsons, Master, R.N., commanding H.M.S. *Scorpion*, highly creditable to that officer.

Note LXXV.—Page 172.

Baron Humboldt observes, “ C'est le résultat qu'a obtenu l'officier de la Marine des Etat-Unies dont M. Washington Irving nous a conservé les judicieuses discussions. Une simple construction graphique paraît prouver qu'avec les rhumbs et les distances indiqués plus haut d'après le journal de Colomb, le point d'estime de l'atterrage ne peut tomber sur le port de Nipe, et que les *Islas de Arena* ne sont pas les cayos de Santo Domingo à l'extrémité S.E. du Grand Banc de Bahama, mais les dangereux ilots des *Mucaras*, dans le méridien de Pta Maternillos.”—*Examen Critique*, p. 203, l. 25, to p. 204, l. 11.

Note LXXVI.—Page 173.

Il a été établi que l'opinion ancienne qui signale le lieu du premier débarquement des Espagnols pres du bord oriental du Grand Banc de Bahama, est conforme au récit des navigateurs et à des documens qui n'avaient point encore été consultés."—*Examen Critique*, tome troisieme, p. 223, l. 18—24.

Note LXXVII.—Page 180.

"Y no lo pudo encavalgar," Nav. p. 45, l. 8.

Note LXXVIII.—Page 181.

"Y como fueron ciertos que no se les habia de hacer mal, se aseguraron y vinieron luego á los navíos mas de diez y seis almadías," Nav. p. 45, l. 24—26.

Note LXXIX.—Page 181.

"Y quanto distaban de alli," Nav. p. 47, l. 19.

Note LXXX.—Page 183.

This letter stands the first in Navarrete's collection in his second volume of "*Diplomatica*."

Note LXXXI.—Page 197.

"Entendió tambien que lejos de alli habia hombres de un ojo, y otros con hocicos de perros, que comian los hombres, y que en tomando uno lo degollaban y le bebian su saugre," p. 48, l. 3. Thus it appears a multitude of idle stories, all prejudicial to the natives, were speedily picked up by the Spaniards.

Note LXXXII.—Page 188.

This is a common expression of the Admiral, and occurs more than once.

Note LXXXIII.—Page 191.

Here, as Las Casas observes, is the origin of smoking tobacco, a practice which, however extensive it may be in other countries, (and common enough it no doubt is there,) has become so general in this, that, to the discredit of parents, it is even followed by children ! The eternal cigar is seen in the mouth of old and young, even in that of the ragged urchin who swaggers along not only astonishing those who see him at his early hardihood, but leaving them to wonder how he came by it, considering the price which must have been paid for it. As already observed, it is profitable to the state if it is indulged in at the cost of the pocket, the health, and the personal comfort of society. The following, from an official source, is a statement of the amount of duty derived from Tobacco in the United Kingdom for the last three years.

1853	£4,560,827
1854	4,751,776
1855	4,704,663

These are tolerably good round sums, contributing to the benefit of the state if not of its subjects.

Note LXXXIV.—Page 193. -

Baron Humboldt somewhere applies to the Gulf Stream the term of a river in a sea, an expression which conveys a very good idea of this wonderful phenomenon of nature. Columbus did not go near it.

Note LXXXV.—Page 194.

The practice of carrying off the natives to Portugal and Spain had then become common. As discovery extended along the African

coast, kidnapping the people followed; and while in the latter country discussions were going forward as to the propriety or impropriety of legalising it, so averse was the virtuous Isabella to admitting it, the trade was yet continued not only on the coast of Africa by the Portuguese, but from the newly discovered world by the Spaniards.

Note LXXXVI.—Page 108.

This expression of Isabella, evincing her indignation at the proceedings of Columbus in respect of making captives of the natives, is one of the interesting points of information given by Baron Humboldt in his "Examen Critique." He says, "Bartholomew Casas, in a curious memoir, (entitled *La Brevisima Relacion de la Destruccion de las Indias*,) which, by order of Charles the Fifth, he transmitted, in 1543, to the assembly of prelates collected at Valladolid to reform the abuses in the newly discovered West Indies, relates a fact which refers to the period that was so disastrous to Columbus. 'The most serene and benevolent Queen Isabella, the worthy grandmother of your Majesty, he said, would never have permitted the Indians to have other *masters* but herself and her husband Ferdinand. It is right that you should know what passed on the subject in this capital in 1499. The Admiral had made a present of an Indian to each of the Spaniards (for his special service) who had accompanied him in his expeditions. I obtained one for myself. We arrived with our slaves in Spain; the Queen at Granada, was informed of it, and expressed her indignation by saying, "Who authorized my Admiral to dispose thus of my subjects?" she caused an order to be published immediately obliging all who possessed slaves to return them to the Indies."—Humboldt, t. 3, p. 285—7. But all the efforts of the virtuous Isabella proved unequal to repress that torrent of cruelties which followed the Spanish conquests in the West Indies. The quotation in the text was from memory, and appears to differ slightly from the above.

Note LXXXVII.—Page 203.

One of the most remarkable instances of this is found in the representation of the person of Richard the Third by Shakspeare, a play which we are told that Queen Elizabeth took especial delight

in going to see. The reader will remember the picture which he makes Richard draw of himself in his introductory soliloquy.

“ I, that am rudely stamp'd, and want love's majesty,
 Deform'd, unfinish'd, sent before my time
 Into this breathing world, scarce half made up,
 And that so lamely and unfashionable,
 That dogs bark at me as I halt by them.”

That Richard was the usurper, and had sins enough to answer for, there is no doubt; but that he was neither deformed, lame, nor had a withered arm, as asserted by Shakspeare, has been shown in Miss Halsted's researches in her work entitled “Richard the Third,” published by Longman, in 1842, proving that history is not always to be trusted, and that where history fails there invention is rife.

Note LXXXVIII.—Page 203.

It is related in a very interesting paper on the Western Esquimaux, by Mr. John Simpson, Surgeon, R.N., of H.M.S. Plover, printed in the “Nautical Magazine,” for December, 1854. He says, these Indians “relate the story of a singular race of men living somewhere in that direction, (the Mackenzie River,) who have two faces, one in front and the other at the back of the head. In each face is one large eye in the centre of the forehead, and a large mouth with formidable teeth. Their dogs, which are their constant companions, are similarly provided with a single eye in each. This fable seems to refer to the tribe of Indians who are said by their neighbours to see the arrows of their enemies behind them,” *Naut. Mag.*, 1854, p. 669. So that the belief of a one-eyed race appears not to be confined to one tribe. And it is reported by all arctic travellers, that the Esquimaux West of the Mackenzie are a quarrelsome bloodthirsty race. The whole of Dr. Simpson's paper is a very interesting account of the manners and customs of those Esquimaux.

Note LXXXIX.—Page 204.

This appears in a letter from Mr. William Messem, printed in the “Nautical Magazine,” for April, 1855, a gentleman who was then on a travelling expedition exploring parts of that yet little known

country. To the stories about the one-eyed people Mr. Messem adds, in reference to their being cannibals, that to them "a baby was nothing—they swallowed them whole," Naut. Mag., 1855, p. 210,—thus giving an improbability first and proving it by an impossibility. Still the fact remains that revolting acts, which shock the finer feelings, are attributed to deformed monsters in parts of the world unknown to each other, and wide of each other as the poles are asunder.

Note XC.—Page 205.

The Admiral had *reasoned* himself into the conclusion that he had discovered the seat of the terrestrial paradise, and named the two straits formed by the Island of Trinidad (the Trinity) standing thus before it, the mouths of the Serpent and the Dragon. Here is a piece of his style of writing on the subject:—"Returning to my theory of the land of Grace, (Paradise,) the river, the lake which I found there, so large that it should rather be called sea than lake, because lake is the place of water, and in being larger it is called sea, as the Sea of Gallilee and the Dead Sea; and I say that if it does come from the earthly Paradise that it rises from an infinity of land, perhaps to the South, of which at present we have no account; but I am quite satisfied in my own mind that there where I have said is the terrestrial Paradise, and I rest my authority on the reasons and authorities abovementioned," l. 4—12.—Letter relating to the third voyage in Navarrete, vol. i., p. 262. Columbus had got firm hold of a wrong theory,—but that is nothing uncommon in this world.

Note XCI.—Page 205.

This is but a portion of the former, and perhaps the crowning idea of a wild imagination, without an atom of philosophy about it. But it actually formed a part of his theory of the figure of the earth. The following are the words of the Admiral on the subject.

"I have always read that the world, land and water, is spherical, and the authorities and experience of Ptolemy, and all the rest who have written on this subject, teach it to be so by eclipses of the moon and other demonstrations from East to West, as the elevation of the poles does from North to South. But now I see the difference I have mentioned, and therefore I applied myself to carrying my

theory to observation, and I found that it is not so round as they describe, but that it has the form of a pear, which is all round excepting where the stalk is, and there it is most elongated; or it has a surface quite round, but in one part of it it is like the female breast, and this part where the stalk is must be the highest, and *therefore nearest to Heaven*, and this must be under the equator, and in this ocean sea at the termination of the East. I call it the termination of the East where all the lands and islands end, and in support of this I adduce all the reasons before stated of the boundary line which passes from North to South a hundred leagues to the West of the Azores, that ships passing from thence to the West gradually become higher and higher, thus as they sail on becoming gently elevated towards the Heavens that then they enjoy the most delicious temperature, the compass becomes changed by reason of this softness of the air a whole point, and in proportion as it proceeds onwards and the higher it reaches the more the variation ascends,—and this height causes the digression from a circle which is described by the pole-star and its pointers; and the further along the equator a person passes, the higher he will rise, and the greater will be the diverse of that circle which the said stars describe.”—Nav. vol. i, p. 255—6.

The foregoing is a tolerable specimen of the absurd notions which the Admiral had adopted, about on a par with the cycles and epicycles taught by the ancient astrologers when the earth was upheld as the centre of the universe and not the sun.

Note XCII.—Page 207.

This appears to have been the largest canoe seen by the Spaniards, but not so large as those of the Honduras coast, which are described as measuring ten tons. See a paper by the late Lieut. W. Mooney, in the “Nautical Magazine,” for 1841, p. 579. This promising young officer fell a victim to yellow fever, like his commander, Lieut. Lawrance, after him.

Note XCIII.—Page 209.

It does not appear that the name of this well known cape was mentioned by Columbus. He merely alludes to it as “un cabo muy hermoso y alto,” a very beautiful high cape, so that the origin

of the name is concealed from us, and we have only the satisfaction of concluding it was of native origin.

Note XCIV.—Page 214.

The island of Tortuga, which means Tortoise, does not appear to have been bestowed by Columbus but by the Spaniards who followed him.

Note XCV.—Page 215.

If this term be the origin of our word cannibal, for which the Author can find no authority in our dictionaries, it affords another remarkable instance of that false imputation which abounds in the world. It has always been applied to the revolting practice of devouring human flesh, but is there a single instance of that fact known among the very people from whose supposed revolting practices it has been derived. There is, however, no doubt of the existence of the practice a very short time ago among the New Zealanders, and still more recently (perhaps even now) among the Feejee Islanders, and thus a race of people, from their name, have given rise to an epithet from a supposed disgusting habit which they did not possess, but which is practised nearly at their antipodes. It is a curious instance of that misapplication of terms and implied characteristics arising from ignorance and superstition in the distant dark ages of the world.

Note XCVI.—Page 222.

The name has now a French garb, the Port de la Paz of Columbus is now Port de Paix on the chart. Some idea may be formed of the little places in which the ships of Columbus were in the habit of creeping into for shelter by the following extract from the remarks of a naval officer who recently visited the place.

“H.M. schooner, *Bermuda*, anchored in Port Paix on the 23rd of December, 1854. A succession of North-Easterly gales, squally weather, and heavy rain compelled us to bear up for shelter under the lee of the island of Tortuga. The shores of this island being bold, we could approach within three miles of it with safety. Finding that there was but little room to lay to between the island

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and the main, as we could not approach either shore from the want of a plan on a sufficiently large scale, I decided on running into Port Paix, after having consulted the direction book.

"Mr. Wayth, the second master, took his place at the mast-head, where he had a good view of the reefs on each side of the harbour. No soundings could be obtained until immediately before anchoring; as the harbour is very small we had to round quickly to and let go the anchor in 13 fathoms.

"The port is well sheltered, not only by the island of Tortuga, but also by a reef running off from a point on each side of the harbour; that on the East side for about a mile in a North-East direction. The town should be quite open of this point before running into the bay, and a wide berth given to the reef. The reef on the West side extends for a short distance in a North-Easterly direction, but it can be plainly distinguished from aloft, as the water surrounding it is very clear.

"When at anchor the fort on the Eastern point bore East-North-East. Fort on the Western point, West. The vessel not more than three cables' length from the shore, and shoal water within about a third of that distance.

"After leaving Port Paix, we beat up to the Eastward, and found that we could approach the island of Tortuga within half a mile, but were obliged to tack within a mile of the shore of the main island of Hayti, as the coast is rugged, and irregular shoals extending from it at different points.

"Port Paix, although at present in a wretched dilapidated condition, was evidently a place of some importance during the French occupation of Haiti. There are the remains of a stone wharf for embarking cargo in boats; also of good streets built at right angles, paved and drained; now there are but few buildings with any pretensions whatever to respectability. Where there are not broken down walls, poor huts occupy the sites of former commodious houses. The pavement is in many parts broken up, the drains destroyed, and as heavy rains prevailed at the time of our visit, the whole place had a forlorn aspect.

"In the North of the town is a square, now a meadow in appearance, with a fine cabbage palm, "the Tree of Liberty," in the centre. On the East side of the square are the remains of a church, now entirely in ruins except the portion of a wall with one window. Two fine bells still remain hung on rude wooden gallows, and near them is a poor shed, in which the ceremonies of the Roman Catholic

Church are gone through by an old French priest. He and another Frenchman were, I believe, the only white people in the place.

"The present condition of the place does not at all agree with the description in the direction book, and the marks there mentioned are long since, extinct.

"The country round Port Paix is mountainous, but by no means rugged or inaccessible, the highest land being not more than about 2000 feet. Some three or four clear spots are to be seen from the anchorage, with a hut on each, the rest is overgrown with wood.

"Supplies of poultry and vegetables are by no means abundant, and are difficult to be obtained except on market-day, Sunday.

"The resident officials are a Commandant of the District, Commandant of the Town, and a Captain of the Port, with the respective titles of Duke, Baron, and Chevalier. There is also a Health Officer, and the garrison consists of fifty soldiers.

"The forts, situated on each side of the harbour, formerly an important defence by sea, are now in a dilapidated state, without guns."

This is about the commencement of that dangerous navigation which proved fatal to the *Santa Maria*, the ship of Columbus, and of which no survey known to the Author has yet been made.

Note XCVII.—Page 227.

Juana, after the Princess Royal of Spain. It was only on leaving Cuba that the Admiral gave it that name, which, it would appear, was never retained in preference to its native appellation Cuba.

Note XCVIII.—Page 234.

The exact place where the *Santa Maria* was lost could only be guessed at with the best chart, but near enough with that accompanying the *Landfall* for any useful purposes. There are sandbanks marked on the chart in the bay of Acul, in which vicinity the catastrophe took place. And the best proof that could be found of the care and vigilance of Columbus in threading his way among the reefs through which he had passed, is the safety with which he had avoided them. And had he not been fairly worn out with fatigue, he would in all probability have escaped this also.

Note XCIX.—Page 246.

Señor Navarrete is careful to point out these coloured stones, from finding in them a corroboration of his theory of the Landfall, as some similar to these are said by Mr. George Gibbs to be found on Turks Island, in his paper to which allusion has already been made (Appendix, p. 140, to Proceedings of the New York Historical Society, 1846). As they are alluded to by the Admiral as being similar to those found in the little island to the Northward, the Author may possibly hear of such being found one day at Watling Island from some kind friend.

Note C.—Page 248.

The passage is,—“Cuando el Almirante iba al Rio del Oro, dijo que vido tres serenas que salieron bien alto de la mar, pero no eran tan hermosas como las pintan, que en alguna manera tenian forma de hombre en la cara,” Nav. p. 130, l. 12—15. The conceit of mermaids is passed away, so let us be content to leave them as the *lobos del Mar*.

Note CI.—Page 266.

The Admiral must have been now but a short distance to the South-West of the Azores, and the Bottle Chart published in the “Nautical Magazine” shows two remarkably curious instances of bottles being thrown ashore there having been launched on their perilous course in that direction from the islands. The chart altogether forms a highly interesting subject for the investigation of those who are curious in the great question of currents of the ocean. The following is the paper to which allusion has been made in the text, and indeed he must have been a hardened subject who would ever invent the document that Columbus consigned to the waves.

“*A singular Relic*.—Captain D'Auberville, of the barque Chief-tain, of Boston, writes to the editor of the ‘Louisville Varieties,’ that he put into Gibraltar on the 27th of August last to repair some damages his vessel had sustained, and, while waiting, himself and two of his passengers crossed the straits to Mount Abylus, on the African coast, to shoot, and pick up geological specimens. Before returning the breeze had freshened so much as to render it necessary

to put more ballast in the boat, and one of the crew lifted what he supposed to be a piece of rock, but from its extreme lightness and singular shape was induced to call the attention of the captain to it, who at first took it for a piece of pumicestone, but so completely covered with barnacles and other marine animalculæ as to deny that supposition. On further examination he found it to be a cedar keg. On opening it he found a cocoa-nut, enveloped in a kind of gum or resinous substance; this he also opened, and found a parchment covered with Gothic characters, nearly illegible, and which neither he nor any one on board was able to decipher. He, however, found on shore an Armenian book merchant, who was said to be the most learned man in Spain, to whom he took it; who, after learning the circumstance of its discovery, offered 300 dollars for it, which offer Captain D'Auberville declined. He then, says the letter, read word for word, and translated it into French as he read each sentence; it was a short but concise account of the discovery of Cathay, or further India, addressed to Ferdinand and Isabella of Castile and Aragon, saying, the ships could not possibly survive the tempest another day; that they then were between the Western Isles and Spain; that two like narratives were written and thrown into the sea, in case the caraval should go to the bottom, that some mariner would pick up one or the other of them. The strange document was signed by Christopher Columbus in a bold dashing hand. It also bore the date of 1493, and consequently had been floating over the Atlantic 358 years. The letter closes with an assurance from the writer that he would guard his treasure safe until his return to the United States, which would be in April or May next."

Savanna (U.S.) paper.

The Admiral considered himself South of Flores on the 10th, of the Azores, between which and the 14th the vessels appear to have been struggling against the wind, so that he was in all probability to the South-West of St. Michael when the cask was committed to the waves.

Note CII.—Page 273.

The Admiral's ideas on this subject will be found in note xci.

Note CII a.—Page 278.

Rastelo is not to be found on the chart now, but there seems good

reason for believing that the anchorage of Columbus in the Tagus was about a mile above Belem Castle, off a building marked Jeronimo on the chart, which is probably the ecclesiastical building alluded to by Manoel da Faria y Sousa in his work on the Discoveries of the Portuguese. Alluding to the Portuguese discoveries on the African coast, he says,—“Prince Henry, the first author of these discoveries, had built a chapel on the banks of the river a league below *Lisbon* for the conveniency of sailors. In the same place now did King *Emanuel* erect a stately church to the same intent, and with the same name it had before, to wit, *Our Lady of Bethlehem*, placing the statue of the Prince over the great gate, his own and the Queen's over the lesser. This is a monastery of the order of *St. Hierom*, and, for its security, was built in the water a strong tower called *St. Vincent*, not great but sightly.” The “now” above-mentioned refers to the return of Vasco da Gama. Had time and opportunity offered, it appears probable that this might be traced as the origin of Belem Castle, well known to those who have visited the Tagus.

Note CIII.—Page 281.

Washington Irving, vol. iv. p. 438.

Note CIV.—Page 284.

In the select letters of the Admiral it is stated that there was a difference in the size of the letters, the three s a s, being considerably smaller than the others, a condition which would corroborate the view taken here. But the printer of the Landfall has followed the orders of the Admiral. The reader who is curious on this subject will also find in this work an imitation of two letters of the Admiral's hand writing.

Note CV.—Page 284.

“Xpo Ferens.” Bearing Christ, or the Cross, as stated in the text. This well known symbol Xpo may be seen applied to a plan of the bay of Angra, in the island of Tercera, which island, Barros says, was one of those presented to the Prince Royal of Portugal, and hence was the seat of Christianity among the Azores.

In a volume of Linschoten's voyages, entitled *Tertia Pars India Orientalis*, published by M. Becker, at Frankfort, in 1601, there is a plan of Angra, illustrated with the arms of Portugal and a shield containing a bird and the word "Açor" on it, showing the derivation of the name of the islands Azores. The title of the plan, on an ornamental tablet, is, "*A cidade de Angra na ilha de Jesu xpo da Tercera.*" The date is, 1605.

It is the only one we have met with bearing the term xpo.

Note CVI.—Page 285.

"La Mina." This was a most important condition, as the Portuguese were extremely jealous of their mine of wealth on the Gold Coast, not a mine underground, as in our acceptance of the term, *the mine*, might lead one to suppose, but a trading post, which was of so much importance, that a fortress named St. George was built for its protection. In a little useful periodical called "*Annaes Maritimos e Coloniaes*," publishing at Lisbon in 1845, the following historical notice of this mine appears.

Extracts from "Chronological Memoir of the Discovery of the Kingdom of Prester John, and of the Embassies sent from Portugal to that Country."

"Upon the accession of John II. to the crown of Portugal, his principal object was to increase the power and dignity of that kingdom. He prosecuted with ardour the conquest of Guinea, assuming the title of Seigneur of that country, and followed up the discoveries of his predecessors, being fully persuaded that not only the cause of religion, but that of the country, would thereby derive considerable advantage, the more so as it appears that a large portion of his revenues, when Prince, was derived from the trade and fisheries of Guinea, Mina, Arguim, and the newly discovered territories, which he tried to establish upon the firmest basis. He hoped by this means to facilitate the route to the Indies and the country of Prester John, who was reported to be the most powerful monarch in that part of the world.

"In furtherance of this object, and the better to insure the safety of his conquests, an expedition was sent out under the command of Diego d'Azambuja, (Note A,) Knight of the Royal Household, and

Commander of the Order of St. Bento d'Avis. He took with him nine caravels, and two merchant ships, with 600 followers, 500 being soldiers, and the rest skilful masons and carpenters. He had orders to complete the fortress of Arguim, which had been commenced in the reign of Alfonso V., by Soeiro Mendez of Lagos, a nobleman of the court. The expedition was also commissioned to erect a fort at St. Jorge da Mina, (Note B,) materials being provided for that purpose; this latter place possessing great advantages as a depôt for gold, previously collected at a spot called Saama, discovered, in 1482, [? 1471,] by John de Santarem and Pedro d'Escovar, accompanied by the pilots Alvaro de Esteves and Martin de Esteves.

"Diego d'Azambuja set sail on the 12th of December, 1481, and reached Mina in 1482, (19th of January). They landed the following day, and with the consent of the native King, Caramança, took possession of the place in the name of John II., hoisting at the same time the royal standard of Portugal. The fort was immediately commenced upon a height near the village bearing the name of "las duas partes," the position being determined by Diego d'Azambuja; and so rapidly did the work progress, that the walls of the fortress and the tower were completed in twenty days, and dedicated to St. George, the defender of the kingdom.

"In the year 1484, the celebrated African navigator, Diego Cam, passed this place on his way to the Southward, in the course of that voyage in which he discovered the River Zaire and the kingdom of Congo.

Proofs of the castle of S. Jorge da Mina being first founded by the Portuguese.

Note A.—Relates to the augmentation of the arms of Diego d'Azambuja.

Note B.—Extract from "*Principio do Esmeraldo de Situ Orbis*," by Duarte Pacheco Pereira, cap. iv. book ii.

"At the mouth of the River St. John is a village called 'Saama,' containing about 500 inhabitants, now called 'a Mina,' and remarkable for being the first establishment in this territory for collecting gold. This place was discovered on the 2nd of January, 1471, by John de Santarem and Pedro d'Escovar, the pilots of the expedition being Alvaro Esteves, of Lagos, and Martin Esteves, of Lisbon;

the latter the most distinguished man of that class in Spain. It was undertaken by order of D. Alfonso V."

The same author continues in chapter v.

"I will now proceed to relate how D. John of Portugal, after the death of his father, sent out an expedition, under the command of Diego d'Azambuja, to lay the foundation of the castle of S. Jorge da Mina. It consisted of nine caravels, with several distinguished officers, of whom he was chief, and two merchant ships, of 400 tons, laden with lime and wrought stone, besides pieces of artillery, for the fort.

"At first many difficulties arose between the natives and our people respecting the building of the fort; but by dint of great perseverance it was at length completed, and proved of great service both as a depôt for gold and as a defence for the settlement. The prosperity of the place increased rapidly under the auspices of Don John; and in no part of Guinea had trade ever been more successful; so much so, that no less than 170,000 dobras of good fine gold, (and sometimes a larger quantity,) were collected yearly. This gold was brought from great distances by the Negro traders of different nations: viz., Iremus, Atys, Hacany, Bowes, Mandingoes, Craces, Andeses, &c., who received in exchange scarlet and blue cloth, metal bracelets, corals, and pink shells, which latter are valued by them as precious stones are by us. They also place a great value on white wine, and a certain description of blue beads. Some of the Negroes in the neighbourhood of the fort have embraced Christianity, but as the traders have but rarely any communication with them, these latter are still idolaters; and the climate of the country is so unhealthy, that it would be almost certain death to any European who wished to penetrate it.

"This fort is $5\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ North of the equator; and on a clear night the pole-star is visible about the same altitude.

"This place is plentifully supplied with fish, which are caught by the natives; cattle are scarce; but the country abounds with wild animals, such as leopards, elephants, buffaloes, and gazelles, besides other species, and numerous birds of beautiful and varied plumage. The natives go almost naked, with a piece of cotton cloth, or a girdle, about their loins on great occasions. They live on millet and palm wine, feasting sometimes upon fish and a little meat.

"Twelve small ships laden with merchandise are sent out annu-

ally by the king, to bring back the gold collected at the factory, in addition to four or five vessels employed to convey wine and other necessaries. The native traders, who bring gold from the interior, never employ asses or other beasts of burden for the transportation of the articles they receive in exchange; these animals are therefore supplied, by means of ships, from a large city called Hoveny, about two hundred leagues from the settlement, and at the confluence of two rivers."

Adjustment of the Names of

RUM CAY AND CONCEPCION ISLAND.

IN reference to the names bestowed by Columbus, allusion is made to Rum Cay in page 118, where it is proposed to divide the long name of Santa Maria de la Concepcion between it and Long Island, the cape of this island retaining the name of Santa Maria, as given by Columbus, and Concepcion being given to Rum Cay. But it would be more in keeping with the intention of the Admiral to let Long Island have its name of Concepcion, and to leave Rum Cay unnoticed as he did; at the same time making Concepcion the little cay to the Northward False Concepcion, as never having been seen by Columbus. He was under the impression that Long Island and Fernandina were one and the same island, which not being the case, Long Island is well entitled to be recognized as one of the early discoveries of the Admiral by the name of "Concepcion" with that of "Santa Maria" bestowed by him on the North-West cape of it.

THE CHART.

SOME observations appear in the Introduction on the subject of the chart accompanying this volume; but before parting with it, something must still be said concerning it.

The whole will be immediately recognized as a portion of the large four sheet chart of the West Indies, published many years ago by the Hydrographic Office of the Admiralty, having received corrections as information has been gained. And although the best, and forming the groundwork of all others in this country, it still is a long way from being unexceptionable. Allusion has already been made in a note to its imperfections on the North shore of St. Domingo; the South shore is much in the same state; and, in fact, there are few portions excepting the Bahama Bank that might not be improved. The plan of Watling Island, (the Landfall,) has been added to it from a sketch (no measured survey) by the present Captain E. Barnett, R.N., an officer who, it is well known, has contributed by his surveys to the improvement of the charts of the West Indies generally, having successively commanded the Jackdaw, the Lark, and the Thunder surveying vessels on that station. The most probable place where the ships of Columbus anchored off this island, is marked on it, from whence the boat expedition proceeded to the North-North-East round the North end of the island. And when the small size of the vessels with Columbus is considered, there appears nothing improbable, although it was on the weather side of the island, against their doing so for the day or two only that they were there. The lagoons with which it abounds are distinctly shown on it.

The chart contains the assumed tracks of Mr. Washington Irving and Señor Navarrete, (the former blue, the latter yellow,) which tracks, as they were referred to in the course of the work, it became absolutely necessary to introduce on the chart. The track assumed as being nearly that of the Admiral by the Author of *the Landfall*, is continued from that island until he departs from the bay of Samana for Spain: but the Author claims only that portion of it from the Landfall to the port of Nipe; having no means of laying down the rest, for which therefore he has had recourse to Navarrete. The track assumed by Mr. Washington Irving (whose friend could not possibly have laid it down correctly on the chart he used) and also

that of Señor Navarrete, are merely introduced from their adopted Landfalls as far as Cuba as given by those gentlemen.

It will be seen in the progress of the Admiral that while he was running to the Southward along the shore of Long Island, the North end of which he had named Cape Santa Maria de la Concepcion, he was under the impression that it formed part of Fernandina, (Exuma,) a mistake which is at once accounted for by his supposing that Exuma joined it to the South-East, making with the Northern part of Long Island a deep bay; and running to the Southward a night and a day in rainy weather, he would necessarily lose sight of the island. His conclusion that Long Island and Exuma were one and the same, is thus readily accounted for,—and he certainly did suppose he was at the South-East end of Fernandina, as he names Cape Verd as the South-West point of it, and speaks of it as *the island* under which he had anchored in the evening before he sailed so systematically determined to find Saomete. The name of Concepcion is preserved to Long Island, as having been applied to the cape which is called Cape Santa Maria, reversing thus the intention expressed in p. 118. And Rum Cay is left with its old name in the chart; a name which it is supposed to have derived from the wreck of some Indiaman, the history of which time has not yet admitted of an investigation.

With reference to the origin of the name of Watling Island, the only clue yet obtained to it by the Author appears to be the fact of a Captain George Watling having been a noted buccaneer, and it is not improbable that his name was given to the island from some circumstances in which he was concerned, possibly from its having been most frequented by him. Captain George Watling was elected to the chief command of a ship on his way into the Pacific in consequence of his buccaneering exploits, and died there.

And as an interesting portion of the track was rather confused where the Admiral starts from the end of Long Island in search of Saomete, (the Crooked Island Group,) it has been introduced on the large chart on a more extended scale, which enables the Author to show more distinctly the determined manner in which Columbus set about finding those islands, and his proceedings there, along with his *departure* on starting for Cuba.

His courses and distances run from that departure, with an allowance of a point and a half of variation, as well as something for the set of current, bring him to the anchorage marked on the South-East end of the Great Bahama Bank,—which is thus so completely recognized, and so distinctly formed, that the Author submits to

hydrographers generally the propriety of perpetuating the name of its discoverer in a part of the world in which that name is no where very prominent, by calling it the Columbus Bank. It is so well but briefly described, and the distance of his anchorage from the Arenas given so distinctly, that there can be no possible mistake as to the fact of the discovery,—which is again corroborated by the distance which the Admiral ran from thence to the port of Nipe in Cuba.

For the rest we need only observe that, incomplete as the labours of the Author must necessarily be, and imperfect as the chart is on which they have been so long engaged, he believes it will be found the most complete of its kind, and the only one that has yet shown the real Landfall, and the earliest tracks of Columbus in America.

THE BAY OF GOMERA.

IN concluding the notes on the Landfall the Author cannot permit them to go forth to the world without performing the painful duty of recording the death of the officer to whom he is indebted for the illustration of the bay in Gomera, from which Columbus sailed on his memorable voyage. Commander William Henry Church entered Her Majesty's Navy in 1822, and served with Captain Vidal, already mentioned in this work, during his examination of the banks on the Western coast of Ireland, and where he explored the district in which an old bugbear to the trade of Liverpool was reported, named Aitkins Rock. This was satisfactorily shown to have originated in floating trees and wrecks, which accounted for the numerous positions that it was laid down in, thus proving its origin.

In 1830 he accompanied Commander Skyring to the coast of Africa, and was employed in the survey of that coast successively under Lieutenant Arlett, his successor Sir Edward Belcher, and his former Captain, Alexander Vidal, with whom he completed the survey of the coast from the Sherborough River to Cape Coast, including the Canary Islands. It was in this service that Lieutenant Church suffered from African fever, narrowly escaping the fate which attended a portion of the *Ætna's* crew, and which obliged her to leave the coast. But he never shook off the effects of that fever, which became seated in the head, producing deafness, which increased with years.

The next service on which Lieutenant Church was employed was in the survey of the coast of Cornwall, and subsequently that of Portsmouth Harbour, under Captain Sheringham, in 1840; from whence he joined Commander Wolf in the survey of the South-West coast of Ireland, the charge of which, on the death of that officer, reverted to him in 1850. The harassing duty of this survey, in a small country boat, comprising the coast between Bearhaven and the Shannon, a part entirely exposed to the swell of the Atlantic Ocean, proved to be one to which a constitution weakened by African fever was unequal, and Commander Church much regretted that he was compelled to seek employment in which the powers of the brain were less in requisition than in the mathematical calculations required of the surveyor, at a time when he had nearly concluded the survey of the portion of coast assigned to him.

Having communicated this to the Hydrographer to the Admiralty, he was on his way to resume his labours until relieved by a successor, when he was attacked by brain fever at Bristol, and died after a few hours' illness on the 14th of April last, leaving a wife and six children to deplore their loss. His wishes in respect of other employment had been promptly attended to, an appointment to the Coast Guard Service in Ireland having been assigned to him, to which he would have gone immediately had he not been thus prematurely cut off!

THE ARMS OF COLUMBUS.

Señor Navarrete has preserved (Doc. No. xx., p. 3, vol. ii.) the royal order by which the Spanish Sovereigns conferred on Columbus the dignity of bearing the arms which appear in the title-page of this work. The order is dated at Barcelona, on the 20th of May, 1493, and, divested of its official phraseology, would read nearly as follows:—

Don Fernando and Doña Isabel, &c. In acknowledgement and reward to you Christóbal Colon, our Admiral of the Islands and Mainland discovered by our command, and to be discovered in the Indies in the Ocean Sea, and in remembrance of the great and loyal services which you have performed for us, especially in exposing your person as you have to much risk and labour in discovering the said islands, and to honour and promote you and your descendants and lineage in perpetuity hereafter, we have thought proper and it is our desire and we give you power and authority to bear on your shield of arms, besides those of your own family, a Castle and Lion

over them, which we give you for arms, that is to say, the Castle *or* on a field *vert* in the *dexter* quarter; and in the *sinister* quarter a Lion *purpura*, *rampant*, on a field *argent*; and in the *dexter base* quarter some Islands *or* in waves of the sea, and in the *sinister base* quarter the arms which you are accustomed to bear; which above-said arms shall be acknowledged as yours and those of your descendants in perpetuity hereafter, &c., &c.

Titles of some of the principal Works referred to in the foregoing Pages.

1.—Collecion de los Viages y Descubrimientos que hicieron por mar los Españoles desde fines del siglo xv. con varios documentos inéditos concernientes á la historia de la Marina Castellana, y de los Establecimientos Españoles en Indias. Coordinada e ilustrada por Don Martin Fernandez de Navarrete, de la Orden de San Juan, &c., &c. *Madrid*, * * Año de 1825. Five volumes, 4to.

2.—A History of the Life and Voyages of Christopher Columbus. By Washington Irving. In four volumes, 8vo. *London*, *Murray*, 1828.

3.—Examen Critique de l'Histoire de la Geographie du Nouveau Continent et des Progrés de l'Astronomie Nautique aux quinzisième et sizième siècles. Par Alexandre de Humboldt. *Paris*, *Libraire de Gide*, 1836. Five volumes, 8vo.

4.—The History of the Discovery and Conquest of the Canary Islands; translated from a Spanish manuscript, &c., &c. By Captain George Glas. In two volumes, 12mo. *Dublin*, 1767.

5.—Memoria em que se pertende provar que os Arabes não conhecerão as Canarias antes dos Portuguezes por Joaquim José da Costa de Macedo, do Conselho de Sua Magestade, &c. Secretario perpetuo de Academia Real des Sciencia de Lisboa, &c. *Lisboa*, 1844. One volume, 4to.

6.—The Ship, its origin and progress—Being a general history from its first invention to the latest improvements, &c. By Francis Stenitz. W. H. Allen, *London*, 1849. One volume, 4to.

7.—Memorials of Columbus, or a Collection of Authentic Documents of that celebrated Navigator, &c. Translated from the Spanish. Treuttel and Wurtz, *London*, 1823. One volume, 8vo.

8.—Observations tending to show that the Grand Turk Island and not San Salvador, was the first Spot on which Columbus landed in the New World. Read October 6th, by George Gibbs, of Turks Island. Paper in the Proceedings of the New York Historical Society for the year 1846.

ERRATA.

Page 97, line 10, *for* immediately *read* minutely.

Page 117, line 8 from bottom, *for* Deception Cay *read* False Concepcion.

Page 118, from line 5 at foot, after "divided between," *read* "Long Island and its North-West cape; the name Concepcion being left as that of the island, and Santa Maria (or St. Mary) that of the cape off which Columbus had anchored," &c. See note on Rum Cay and Concepcion Island, p. 370.

Page 143, line 8 from bottom, *for* (Santa Maria) *read* (Concepcion).

Page 330, line 7 from bottom, *for* degrees *read* 13 degrees.



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